•SPECIAL COLLECTOR'S ISSUE•

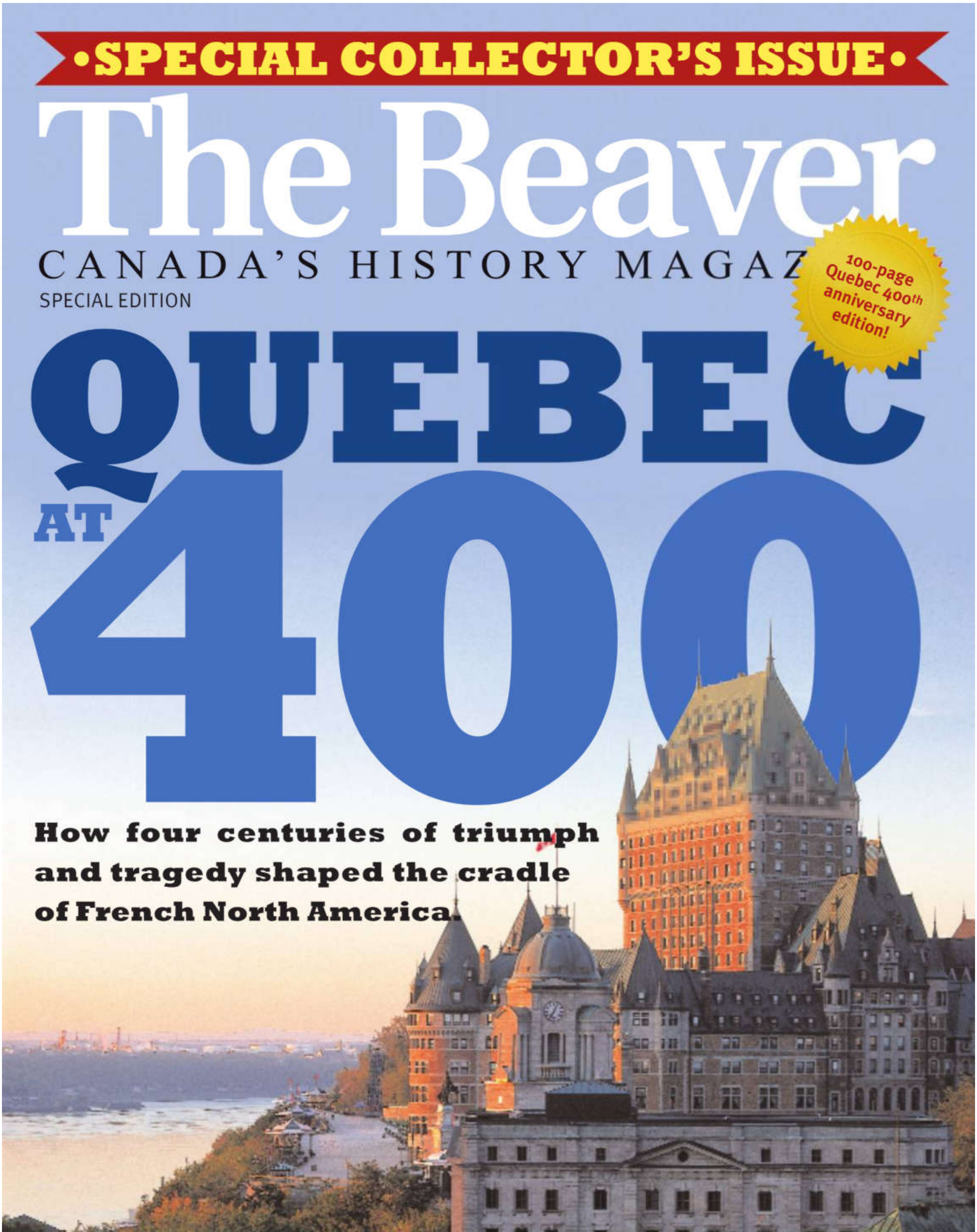
The Beaver

CANADA'S HISTORY MAGAZ

SPECIAL EDITION

100-page Quebec 400th anniversary edition!

QUEBEC AT 400



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Deborah Morrison Publisher, President and CEO
Mark Reid Editor
Jacques Lacoursière Co-Editor
Nelle Oosterom Associate Editor
Michel Groleau Art Director
Marie-Luce Aumais Assistant Art Director
Phil Koch Assistant Editor
Beverley Tallon Copy Editor/Researcher
Tanja Hütter Web Editor
Christine Dumazet Proofreader
Marie-Catherine Gagné Translator
Linda Miller Translator
Kristen Fry Intern
Brian Young Special Consultant
Richard Pound Special Consultant
René Durocher Special Consultant

478–167 Lombard Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3B 0T6 Canada
Phone: (204) 988-9300 **Fax:** (204) 988-9309
Toll Free 1-800-816-6777
E-mail: thebeaver@historysociety.ca
Member Services E-mail: memberservices@historysociety.ca
World Wide Web site: TheBeaver.ca

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Advertising Representatives: Brian Stendel
Phone: (416) 630-4274 **Fax:** (416) 630-8557
E-mail: bstendel@brainstone.ca
Michael Wile
Phone: (416) 531-1483 **Fax:** (416) 531-1612
E-mail: michaelwile@historysociety.ca

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COVER: LOUISE BILODEAU

Editor's note

Happy Birthday, Quebec City

THOMAS FRICKE

It was Christmas Day 1635 and the father of New France was dying. For almost three decades, Samuel de Champlain had nurtured his small colony on the St. Lawrence. Looking back on his life, Champlain had reason to be content.

He had struck alliances with First Nations, providing France with allies in war and partners in trade. He had travelled along rivers and through forests that no other European had seen, creating wonderfully detailed maps and written accounts that still captivate us today.

Of course, there had been setbacks. In 1629, when the Kirke brothers captured Quebec, Champlain must have feared it had been lost forever. He certainly couldn't have known that four centuries later his fragile colony would blossom into Canada's jewel: Quebec City, recognized worldwide for both its beauty and its heritage.

We at *The Beaver* are proud to bring you this special Quebec 400th anniversary issue, in both English and French editions. It's the product of many talented writers, editors and translators; our art director and his team of illustrators and photographers; as well as *The Beaver*'s publisher, Deborah Morrison, and my guest co-editor, Quebec historian Jacques Lacoursière.

Within these pages are stories of four centuries of love, loss, failure, and triumph. Above all, they're stories of survival: of a colony, a people, a city, a province, and a country. As Canadians, we all share in Quebec's story — and we at *The Beaver* are honoured to share this issue with you. Bonne fête, Québec!

Mark Reid
Editor
editors@historysociety.ca

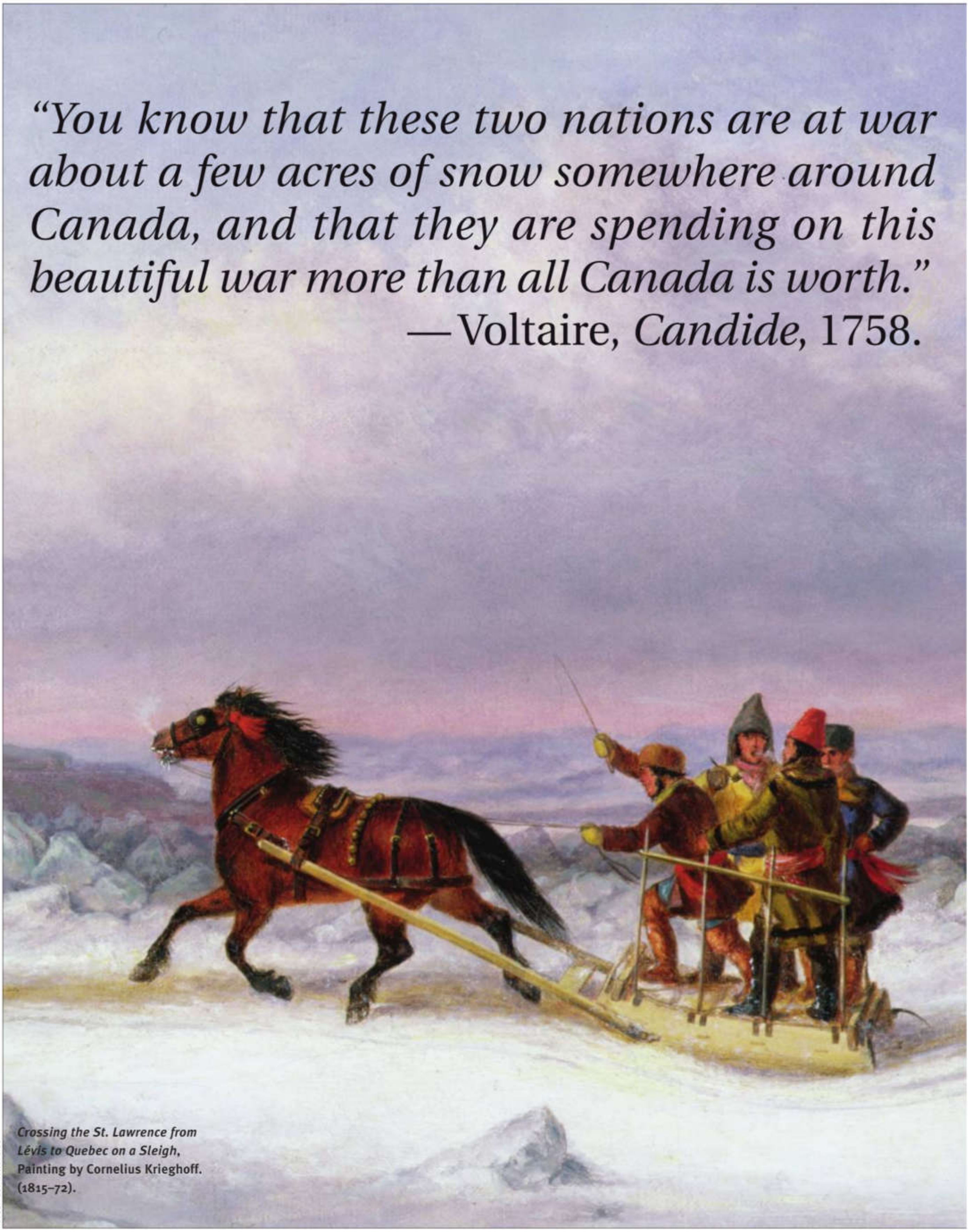
LOUISE BILODEAU

For the first time since its inception in 1920, *The Beaver* has published an issue in both English and French. The timing is perfect, as this year marks the 400th anniversary of Quebec City, as well as four centuries of continuous presence of French as an official language in North America. Quebec City has served as a port of entry for hundreds of thousands of immigrants, as well as being a point of departure for early missionaries and explorers who were heading deeper into the continent. Prior to Confederation, Quebec City was the place of residence for both French and, later, English colonial governors. For, in order for Britain to secure its hegemonic grip on North America, it was imperative for it to seize the capital of New France.

Throughout its history, Quebec has been, and remains, an epicentre of French culture. It was therefore natural that the city dubbed "The Old Capital" — the site chosen by Ottawa as the capital of the United Province of Canada — became an important North American tourist site. Lady Dufferin was quite right to have written, on August 9, 1872: "I contemplate here one of the most famous landscapes of the world!" Indeed, as proof positive, UNESCO classifies Quebec City as a "world heritage city."

The various articles published in this special edition demonstrate the riches — both past and present — of this city founded four hundred years ago! Here's hoping that this special bilingual issue shall be the first of many more.

Jacques Lacoursière
Co-Editor



> *"You know that these two nations are at war about a few acres of snow somewhere around Canada, and that they are spending on this beautiful war more than all Canada is worth."*
>
> —Voltaire, *Candide*, 1758.

***Crossing the St. Lawrence from Lévis to Quebec on a Sleigh*, Painting by Cornelius Krieghoff. (1815–72).**

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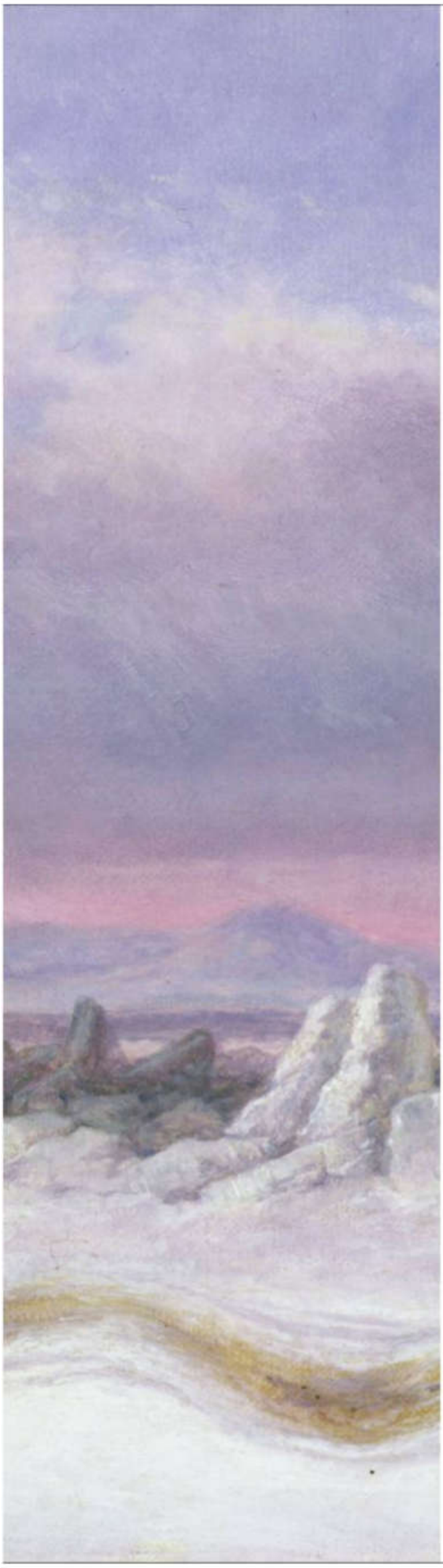

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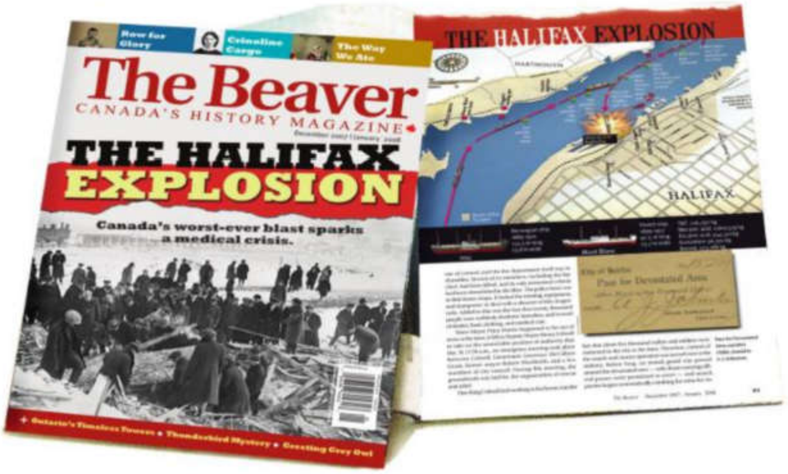
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THE HALIFAX EXPLOSION
Canada's worst-ever blast sparks a medical crisis.
THE HALIFAX EXPLOSION
HALIFAX

Explosion remembered

The article about the Halifax Explosion ["On the Frontlines of Disaster," December/January 2007–08] is remembered in another way by the Colwell family.

As reported in the article on p. 21, Halifax's deputy mayor, Henry Stubbs Colwell, was in authority for organizing the relief of the city. On October 10, 1967, the deputy mayor's son, Garnet J. Colwell, was granted armorial bearings by the Kings of Arms at the College of Arms, London (before the Canadian Heraldic Authority was created in 1988).

The grant was designed with Henry Colwell's aid efforts during the explosion in mind. The shield shows a North American Kingfisher from the arms of Halifax. Around it is a blue, engrailed disc for the city harbour. That is on a gold disc with red rays, symbolizing the explosion.

Darrel E. Kennedy
Ottawa, Ontario.

Praise for *The Beaver*

I wish to thank you for several things. First, belated thanks for including the photo of my wife's family wedding dress [Album, "A Family Wedding Dress," October/November 2007], which really gratified and surprised her.

Also I wish to thank you for the review of Geoffrey Corfield's book 1867 and all the rest of it [Reviews, December/January 2007–08]. I have several of his books and I find them accurate, if zany. But that's probably a good way to present history — then peoples' appetites will be whetted and they can seek out the dusty tomes in public libraries.

I emigrated to this wonderful country from England in 1967 and because of that I had little interest in our centennial celebrations. What, I thought, is so special about 100 years? It was only later that I developed a passion for Canadian history. I have always been more interested in everyday stories of Canadians.

Which brings me to my last point. You, sir, have managed to fill that need so many of us have for those everyday stories, such as "The Way We Ate" [December/January 2007–08] and also the story about the Halifax Explosion [December/January 2007–08], complete with some intriguing sidebars, that deal with an important part of our heritage. Keep up the good work.

Stephen J. Beecroft
Via email

Special delivery

When I received my copy of *The Beaver* this morning and was leafing through it, I spotted the little article about Pablum [December/January 2007–08]. Dr. Alan Brown was the pediatrician who brought me into the world on January 4, 1926 — it so states in my baby book, which I still have almost eighty-two years later! My mother had a great number of miscarriages ... so my father sought out a pediatrician, rather than a general-practice MD. I was ... a very short-term baby, weighing in at roughly four pounds — so small, in fact, that I was brought home in a shoebox! It was due to the care and competence of Alan Brown that ... I am still around today. Had he not been as good a pediatrician, I likely would have been just another miscarriage. Thank you for the article. We do enjoy *The Beaver*.

Douglas R. Irvine
Nanaimo, British Columbia

Right slogan, wrong war

In the article on the Halifax explosion ["On the Frontlines of Disaster," December/January 2007–08], the statement is made (p.23) that "the wartime adage 'loose lips sink ships' was on everyone's mind." This was a WW II poster slogan, not WW I.

David H. Webster
Kentville, Nova Scotia

[Editor's note: Mr. Webster is correct, the slogan was created in WW II by the U.S. Office of War Information, in conjunction with the U.S. military and the FBI.]

Lost weekend found?

As historians working in Lévis, Quebec, we read with great interest Peter Black's excellent article "Sir John's Lost Weekend" [October/November 2007] concerning Sir John A. Macdonald's lost weekend in the summer of 1873. In our view, two reliable sources of information that we have here in our files give credence to the affirmation of the writer, Peter Black, that: "The closer one examines the incident, the more it becomes apparent that historians have not completed the puzzle, either because some key pieces are forever lost or just too difficult to find."

Here are our two important sources worth considering in this fascinating case. First, according to Canadian poet, Louis-Honoré Fréchette (see: *Mémoires Intimes* p. 32) — who is from Lévis and who was also elected as a Liberal member of Parliament in 1874 — John A. Macdonald had a cousin (a Mr. Young) living in the former house of Fréchette's father in *Lévis.* Moreover, Fréchette wrote, in the same book, that Sir John A. Macdonald spent three weeks at Young's house after the Pacific Scandal broke out. Also in *Mémoires Intimes,* we read that John A. Macdonald went to Young's house to rest more than once during his political career. Second, Lévis' daily *Le Quotidien,* in its June 12, 1891, edition, presented John A. Macdonald as "a former citizen of Lévis," because, as we read in the paper, Sir John A. used to take some time off over a period of many summers in Lévis at a house formerly own by Léon Samson.

So, quite obviously, the prime minister knew very well his way around Lévis. More than that, in the same edition of *Le Quotidien,* we see a resolution of condolence put forward by municipal councillor James Gibson for the attention of Lady Macdonald who, according to the resolution, lived a few years in Lévis before her marriage with Macdonald.

As far as we can see, it is possible, as Bruce Hutchison "seems to conclude," that the first prime minister of Canada "lay unconscious in the stews of Lévis" during the famous lost August weekend of 1873. However, it is possible that he was conscious after all, resting at his cousin's house along the shore of the St. Lawrence River in a city that he knew quite well.

CLAUDE GENEST AND PIERRE POULIN
LÉVIS, QUEBEC

Delighted by non-story

I absolutely loved "Sir John's Lost Weekend" [October/November 2007]. It was telling, informative and fun to read. I was especially delighted to see that, by the end of the story, the weekend remained "lost" — a black hole in history the likes of which we are not likely to see again. The best non-story I've read in a long time! I am a new reader to *The Beaver* and will remain a loyal subscriber.

SARA MINOGUE
VIA EMAIL

Jazzed about Fog Bowl

Your article on the 1962 Grey Cup ["The Fog Bowl," October/November 2007] covered off the football part of it, but there was another aspect that was equally interesting. I was playing saxophone in the Argo Band at that game. The game was delayed for a long time while officials tried to decide on a course of action. During the delay, the band started jamming some jazz tunes and people were dancing in the stands.

The television people were, by then, quite desperate for something to show the TV audience and zeroed in on the entertainment being provided by the band. Union rules at that time allowed thirty seconds or so to show music events as news — but after that TV payment rates cranked in. That Fog Bowl worked well for me.

DAVID GILBERT
TORONTO, ONTARIO

Ploen photo moving

Loved the issue — and especially the article on the Fog Bowl ["The Fog Bowl," October/November 2007]. I was a sixteen-year-old in Winnipeg at the time, and Kenny Ploen was our hero. It was a real David versus Goliath situation. I still fondly recall the line: "Kenny Ploen, we're going all the way with Kenny Ploen," which may have been sung to the tune of *Primrose Lane.* Your photo of Ploen today was moving, to say the least. Just one quibble: in 1962, Toronto was not yet the largest city in Canada.

CHARLES MURDOCH
VIA EMAIL

[Editor's note: Mr. Murdoch is correct; Montreal was Canada's largest city until the 1970s, when it was surpassed by Toronto.]

***The Beaver* welcomes readers' comments.** E-mail us at editors@historysociety.ca or write to *The Beaver,* 478–167 Lombard Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3B 0T6 Canada. Please include your address and daytime phone number. Letters may be edited for clarity or length.

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The contest closes on June 1st, 2008, and winning entries will be published in *The Beaver,* as part of a special feature package on The Photos that Changed Canada — 10 photos that influenced the future of our nation. Entries can be submitted online to contest@thebeaver.ca or by regular post, at The Beaver Photo Contest 478-167 Lombard Avenue, Winnipeg, MB, R3B 0T6. Full contest details are available online at thebeaver.ca. The Beaver cannot guarantee that submissions will be returned, so please only mail duplicate copies of your photograph(s).

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Living History

Where Canada began

In front of the Château Frontenac, the stately hotel that is Quebec City's signature icon, the boardwalk of the Dufferin Terrace has been stripped away to reveal the stone and brick ruins of Château Saint-Louis and Fort Saint-Louis.

It was here in 1620 that Samuel de Champlain built a wooden fort to replace the decaying Habitation built in 1608. Then, as now, on the brow of the cliff overlooking Place-Royale, the location offered a stunning vista. It also had strategic value, allowing the city's defenders to see ships coming up the St. Lawrence.

"This is the seed that gave birth to all of Canada," says archaeologist Manon Goyette. She works with about forty other archaeologists and construction workers, who for three years have sifted through the vestiges of what was for two hundred years the seat of government — first for New France, then for a nascent Canada.

The $11-million Parks Canada dig is an opportunity to explore the ruins and preserve the structures. From May to October 2008, visitors can descend on their own or join guided tours to see the remains of the four forts and two châteaux built on this site.

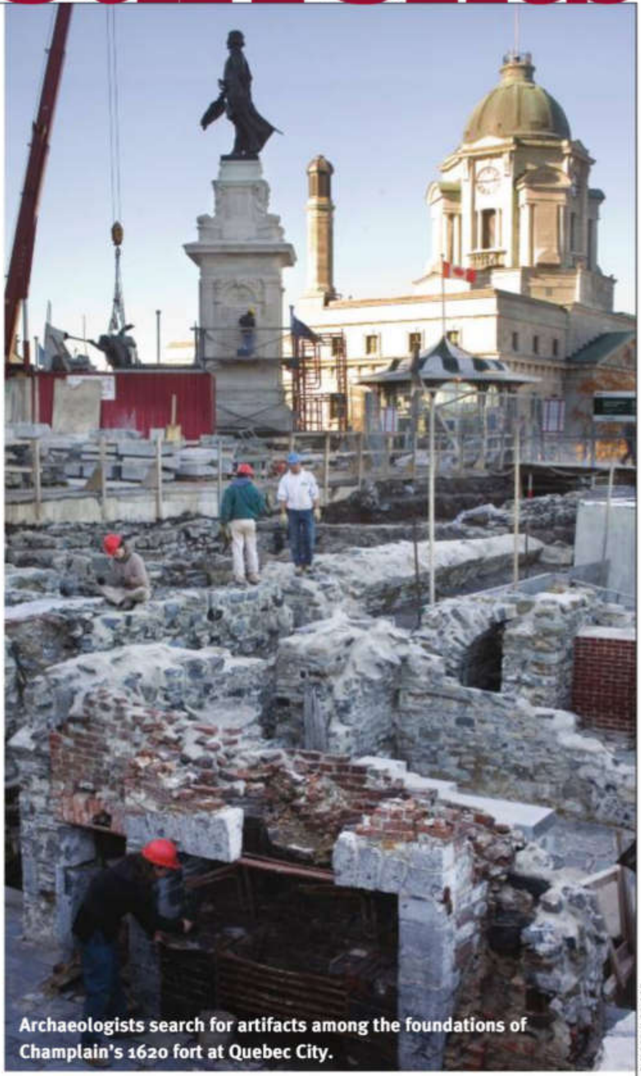
Champlain built another fort here in 1626, only to give the site up in 1629 to David Kirke, an English adventurer who starved the tiny colony of less than seventy people into submission. Champlain returned from France in 1633, after the English gave back the prize, and died here on Christmas Day 1635.

The dig has uncovered the foundations of Champlain's 1620 fort and many artifacts, such as glasses, dishes, ceramics, silverware, jewels, and Dutch smoking pipes — objects that were lost or thrown away, usually because they were broken.

"In those days there was no garbage collection," Goyette explained. "People would throw away objects that were broken or no longer wanted."

The archaeologists found cannon platforms just where original drawings indicated they would be and a kitchen with a well-preserved oven for baking bread. They also discovered something they did not expect to find — a blacksmith's forge.

"Blacksmiths in those days made armour, horseshoes," Goyette said. "They only worked to order. It wasn't for sale. Often it was an exchange of services."



Archaeologists search for artifacts among the foundations of Champlain's 1620 fort at Quebec City.

LOUISE BILODEAU

The team found six axes at the site. Goyette says she would like to do a chemical analysis of the site to find out what metals were used, but time is running out.

Robert Gauvin, the chief archaeologist for the project, calls the dig "an extraordinary site" that is rich in history. He would like to continue digging for another two years. But in 2009, after Quebec City's 400th-anniversary year, the ruins and their secrets will be buried in sand for their protection and the boardwalk will be rebuilt as before, restoring the Dufferin Terrace.

— Kevin Dougherty

TAKE THE DAY OFF

February 1

To mark the Amnesty Act passed in 1849 to pardon participants in the Rebellions of 1837–1838. Cry freedom.

Currents

Our home & native ...

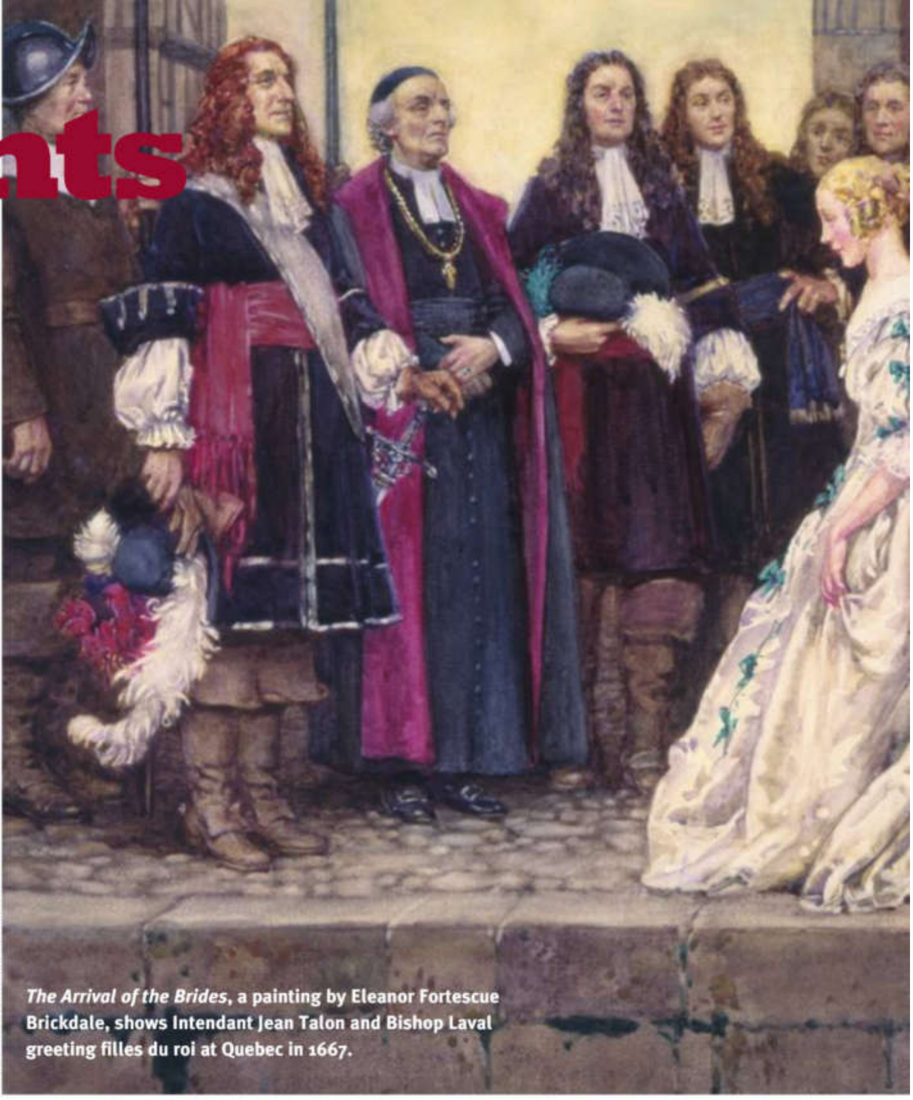
Badaboum

When the 1987 NHL All-Star Game was set aside in favour of an exhibition series between the National Hockey League's best and the Soviet national team at the Colisée in Quebec City, a blue, wacky-looking creature — whose exact zoological identity is still hotly debated — made a first appearance. His name was Badaboum, and officially he was the mascot of the Rendez-Vous '87 series. He was so popular, though, that the NHL's Quebec Nordiques adopted him as their mascot.

For almost a decade, Badaboum entertained fans at the Colisée with his bizarre dance moves and kooky antics. But in 1995, the NHL franchise abandoned Quebec City for Denver, leaving Badaboum behind. The timing was especially tragic — the Colorado Avalanche would go on to sip champagne from the Stanley Cup the next season. Worse yet, Badaboum was replaced by a goofy white yeti named Howler.

The strange blue mascot is nevertheless fondly remembered, and his costume is proudly displayed at the offices of Creations JCT, outside Montreal. The company has been producing mascots for over twenty years, and one of its star creations is the fuzzy Badaboum.

— Christopher Webb



The Arrival of the Brides, a painting by Eleanor Fortescue Brickdale, shows Intendant Jean Talon and Bishop Laval greeting filles du roi at Quebec in 1667.

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The king's daughters

Each spring, the men of New France listened with great anticipation for the cracking sound of ice dams breaking up on the St. Lawrence River, heralding the arrival of supply ships from France, their cargo holds bulging with foodstuffs, tools, trade goods, livestock, and — in at least one of those annual ships — a consignment of young, single women.

Soldiers, merchants, farmers, and coureurs de bois gathered on the wharf to eye the women as they disembarked on unsteady sea legs after their long and harrowing ocean journey. There was no opportunity to actually socialize, however, as the prospective brides — some as young as twelve — were quickly ushered away to their living quarters by nuns, who oversaw the screening of the suitors who came knocking.

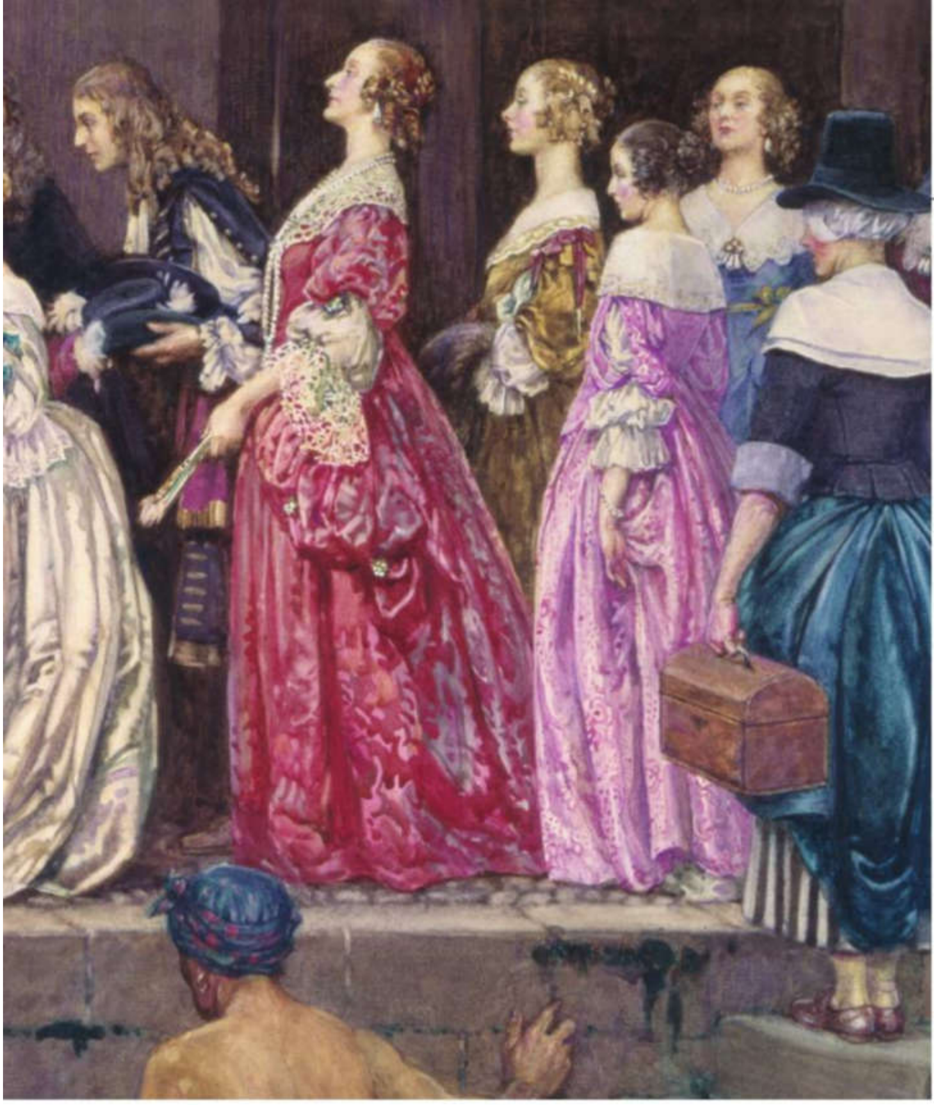
The filles du roi — or king's daughters — were part of the Louis XIV's program of rapidly populating France's newly established colonies. Often poor orphans with few prospects, but sometimes women from the noble classes, they were lured to the

February 11

To celebrate the opening of the first Canada Winter Games in Quebec City in 1967. Get on your mark.

February 25

To note the 1831 granting of the first Canadian railroad charter to the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railroad. Make tracks.



New World with the promise of free passage, a small dowry, and the chance to marry a man with a little land. With men in New France outnumbering women about seven to one, the new arrivals' chances of marrying within a few weeks were high. But storybook romance was another thing.

A significant number of men in the colony were reluctant suitors. The freewheeling fur traders, who were often ex-soldiers, had little desire to marry. This alarmed the colony's ambitious administrator, Jean Talon, whose job it was to develop a thriving, stable colony of French citizens. He cracked down on the bachelor life, imposing new rules in 1668, which barred any man from hunting and trading if he was still unmarried fifteen days after the arrival of the next shipment of women.

Even the courts nudged the single men into wedded bliss. In *Sketches of Canadian Life Under the French Regime,* historian Joseph Kage describes the plight of young François Lenois, who pleaded guilty in court to illegally trading with the natives: "The sentence passed by the judge was a most unusual one. François was to promise that as soon as the next group of girls arrived in Canada, he would marry one of them. If he failed to carry out this promise, he would have to pay a fine of one-hundred-fifty pounds."

Men seeking brides had to report to the nuns and give a full account of themselves. If the suitor was found to be acceptable, he was presented to several women and allowed to choose. The women were not obligated to accept any marriage proposal, and even if they did, they often had a few weeks in which to change their minds, which was common.

While most of the women who arrived in the early years of the colony proved acceptable as brides, the pool of suitable young women began to dwindle over time. A group in 1669 "was said to have 'some among them that were very coarse and very difficult to manage,'" says historical researcher Jack Verney in *The Good Regiment.* Marie de l'Incarnation, superior of the Ursuline convent in Quebec, began asking for "only country girls, as capable of working as men are. Experience has shown that those who have not been raised to it are not suitable here." Truly difficult cases — such as women who engaged in prostitution or other crimes — were deported back to France.

The majority of the filles du roi married and bore many children, at the encouragement of the state, which paid families of ten children or more generous pensions. The surviving progeny were a sturdy lot, observed Marie de l'Incarnation: "A poor man will have eight children and more, who run about in winter with bare heads and bare feet, and a little jacket on their backs, live on nothing but bread and eels, and on that grow fat and stout."

The legacy of these robust families lives on today, with many Quebecers being able to trace their ancestry back to the filles du roi.

— Nelle Oosterom

March 3

To observe the day in 1875 that Montrealers witnessed the playing of the first indoor hockey game. Keep score.

March 13

To revere Henri de Bernières, who in 1660 was the first priest to be ordained in Canada. Fall to your knees.

Currents

Setting the standards of New France

Flags and banners unseen for centuries are being revived and could soon be flying over historic sites in Quebec.

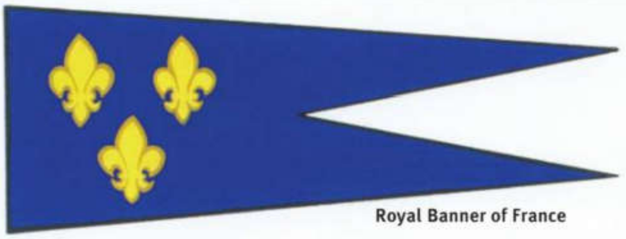
A team of historians and artists has been working under the direction of Dr. Claire Boudreau, the chief herald of Canada, to recreate images of selected flags that have flown over Quebec during the past four centuries and to register them in the Public Register of Arms, Flags and Badges of Canada, all in time for this year's 400th anniversary celebrations.

The project began in the spring of 2007 when Jason Kenney, secretary of state for multiculturalism and Canadian identity, asked Boudreau to register "flags of New France, for which a sound historical basis can be established, and of French Canada." With the anniversary approaching, he asked that it be done "as soon as possible."

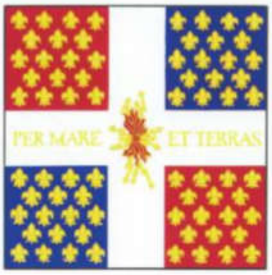
Excited by the opportunity, Boudreau and her staff at the Canadian Heraldic Authority set to work on the seemingly daunting project. With little or no visual record available for many of the flags, they looked to written descriptions in primary historical sources, regulations regarding the design of flags, and even an account of a benediction for one of the banners.

Based on their research, four artists were hired to paint images of thirty flags that were added to the register before the end of 2007. This first group is from the period up to and just past the Seven Years War of the mid-eighteenth century, but the project will eventually register flags to Confederation and beyond.

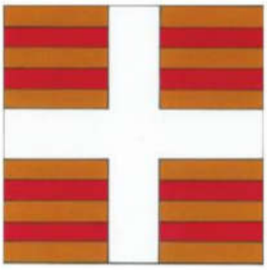
The initial set features the banners of French and English military regiments that set foot on Quebec soil — including combatants in the battle of the Plains of Abraham — as well as naval flags, the French royal banner, and one religious flag.



Royal Banner of France



Compagnies franches de la Marine

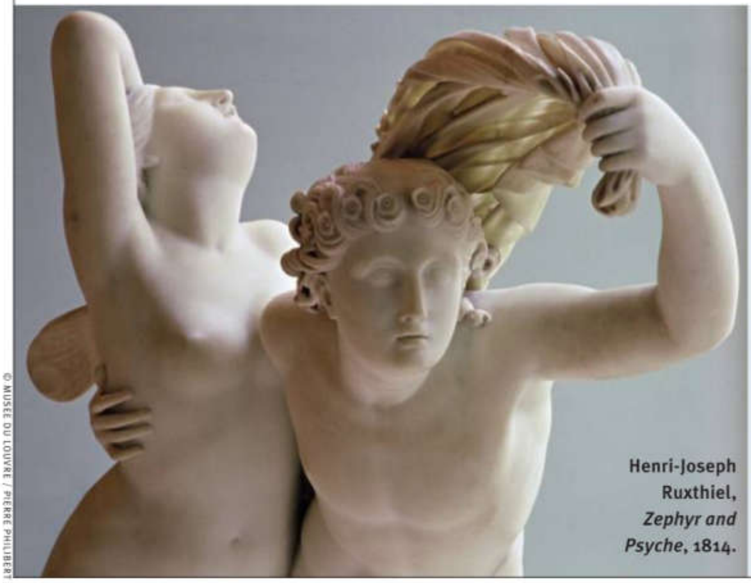


Régiment de Béarn

Among the greatest challenges was determining the colours to be used in the reproductions. Boudreau credits the assistance of René Chartrand, an expert in historical artifacts, in work as refined as selecting a crucial shade of purple that could have been produced from flowers available at the time.

A poster showing the recreated flags will be distributed for use at schools, libraries, or historic sites — where banners from Quebec's past might again be hoisted.

— Phil Koch



Henri-Joseph Ruxthiel, *Zephyr and Psyche*, 1814.

© MUSÉE DU LOUVRE / PIERRE PHILIBERT

The Louvre visits Quebec

Residents and visitors to Quebec City will have a chance this year to see works selected from the Louvre in Paris when the Musée National des Beaux-Arts du Québec hosts *Le Louvre à Québec. Les arts et la vie.* A result of efforts begun in 2003, the exhibition will include 271 artworks and everyday objects representing over five thousand years of history and selected from all eight departments of the Louvre. It is "conceived to give the visitors an idea of the experience of the Louvre," said spokeswoman Katherine Noreau of the Quebec City museum. The large collaborative project is an unusual effort, but Noreau says the Louvre is enthusiastic about taking part in Quebec's anniversary celebrations. The exhibition opens June 5 and runs until October 26.

Robert Lepage is creating a multimedia extravaganza for Quebec City's 400th anniversary.

LOUISE BILODEAU

Creative Class

Lepage spectacular a 'grand kaleidoscope'

There are occasions, like a city's 400th-anniversary party, when everybody wants to get in on the act. While an estimated seven hundred artists will take part in Quebec City's birthday celebration this summer, *The Image Mill*, by the city's resident genius Robert Lepage, is already being talked about as one of the most exciting aspects of the artistic program.

The anniversary's entertainment agenda is relentless. Over twenty-four hundred performances are being planned for the main Espace 400e event location alone — at the Louise Basin marina in the heart of the city — during seventeen summer weeks commencing June 3. The action began on New Year's Eve with a splashy kickoff show, and the Cirque du Soleil, born close to Quebec City at Baie-Saint-Paul, will present the closing extravaganza on December 31, 2008. Celine Dion is set to conquer the Plains of Abraham on August 22 in a one-night midsummer wonder.

Running for forty nights beginning June 20, *The Image Mill* will dazzle the eye and ravish the ear, via a hookup with a local radio station. Sculpted 3D-like images will dance above the waters of the Louise Basin on the port side of huge grain elevators (the La Bunge silos). Thousands of people will be able to appreciate the spectacle from lookout points across the city — and across the St. Lawrence River as well.

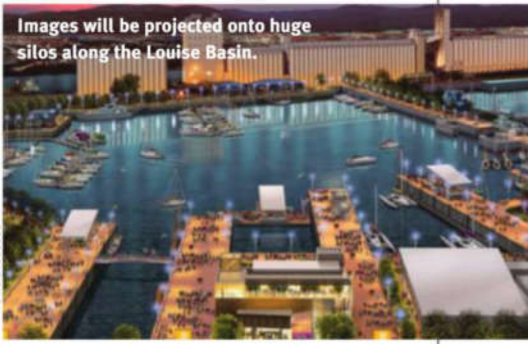
"Even in Lévis, you'll be able to see the show," says Steve Blanchet, the "concept mapper" who is quarterbacking the project and acting as its spokesperson while Lepage fulfills other artistic commitments around the world.

The man who in 1992 became the first North American to direct a Shakespeare play at the Royal National Theatre in London is in steady demand. In recent months, Lepage has been busy with the revival of his opera *1984* in Spain, the Asian tour of his *The Andersen Project*, and the launch of a book about his multidisciplinary company Ex Machina, which is based in La Caserne Dalhousie in the old quarter of Quebec City.

The Lepage team working on *The Image Mill* is made up of about fifteen people, including historical consultant Philippe Dubé of Laval University. It will grow to seventy-five once the show is up and running, Blanchet says. The project has been in the works for about three years.

One thing *The Image Mill* will not be is a history lesson. Lepage doesn't do linear narrative. The show is planned as a mosaic exploring four eras in the life of the city through evolving modes of transportation: the age of waterways; the age of roads and settlement; the age of the railroad; and finally the global age, when the sky is the highway and radio and television waves fly through the air.

"It's so vast, so big, that it's difficult to summarize," Lepage says in an interview broadcast on the 400th-anniversary website. "It's an architectural projection, to talk of its technical side, the largest of its kind ever done anywhere in the world. It's 0.6 kilometres, an enormous surface covered with images, with lights. There will be a soundtrack, a grand forty-minute symphony composed by René Lussier."



Images will be projected onto huge silos along the Louise Basin.

CORPORATION DU 400e

Lepage says he took his cue from existing images of Quebec City, of which there is no shortage. "This is a city that has been painted, photographed, and filmed. We've been inspired by this to tell a story that spans four centuries."

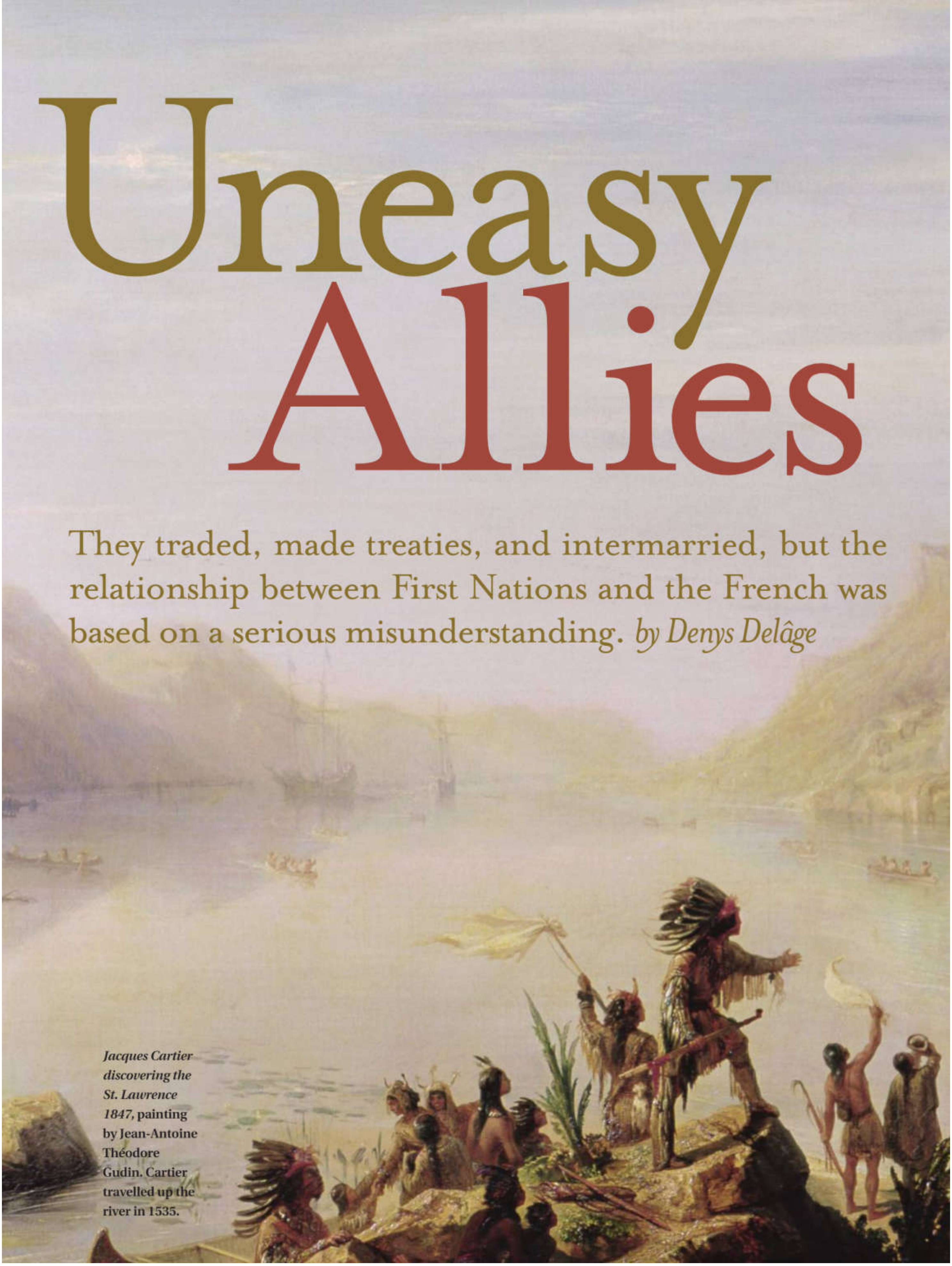
He promises a sensory and theatrical experience — a "grand kaleidoscope" that begins after the sun goes down.

For more on the 400th-anniversary festivities, visit www.monquebec2008.com.

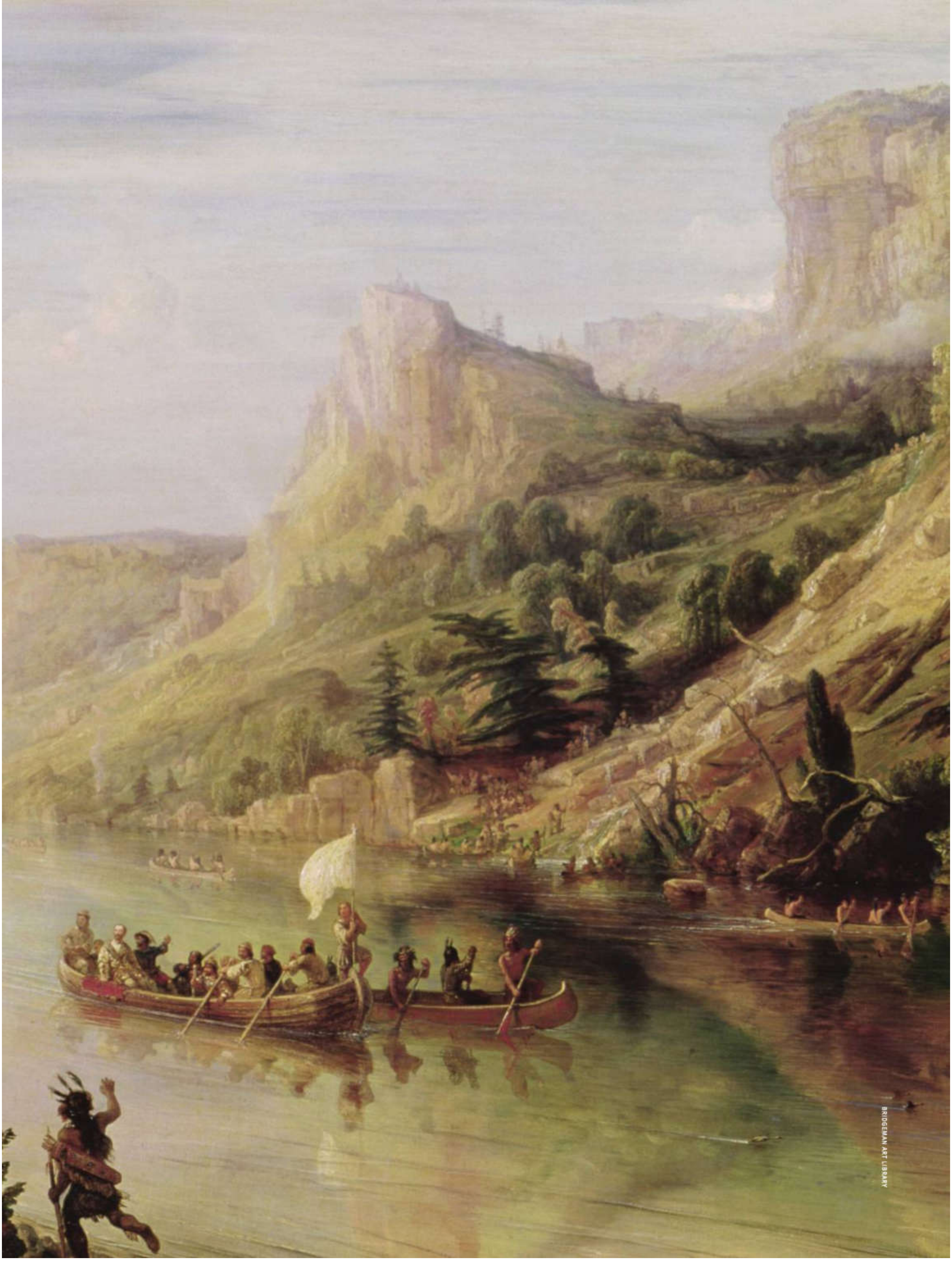
— Pat Donnelly

Uneasy Allies

They traded, made treaties, and intermarried, but the relationship between First Nations and the French was based on a serious misunderstanding. *by Denys Delâge*



Jacques Cartier discovering the St. Lawrence 1847, **painting by Jean-Antoine Théodore Gudin. Cartier travelled up the river in 1535.**



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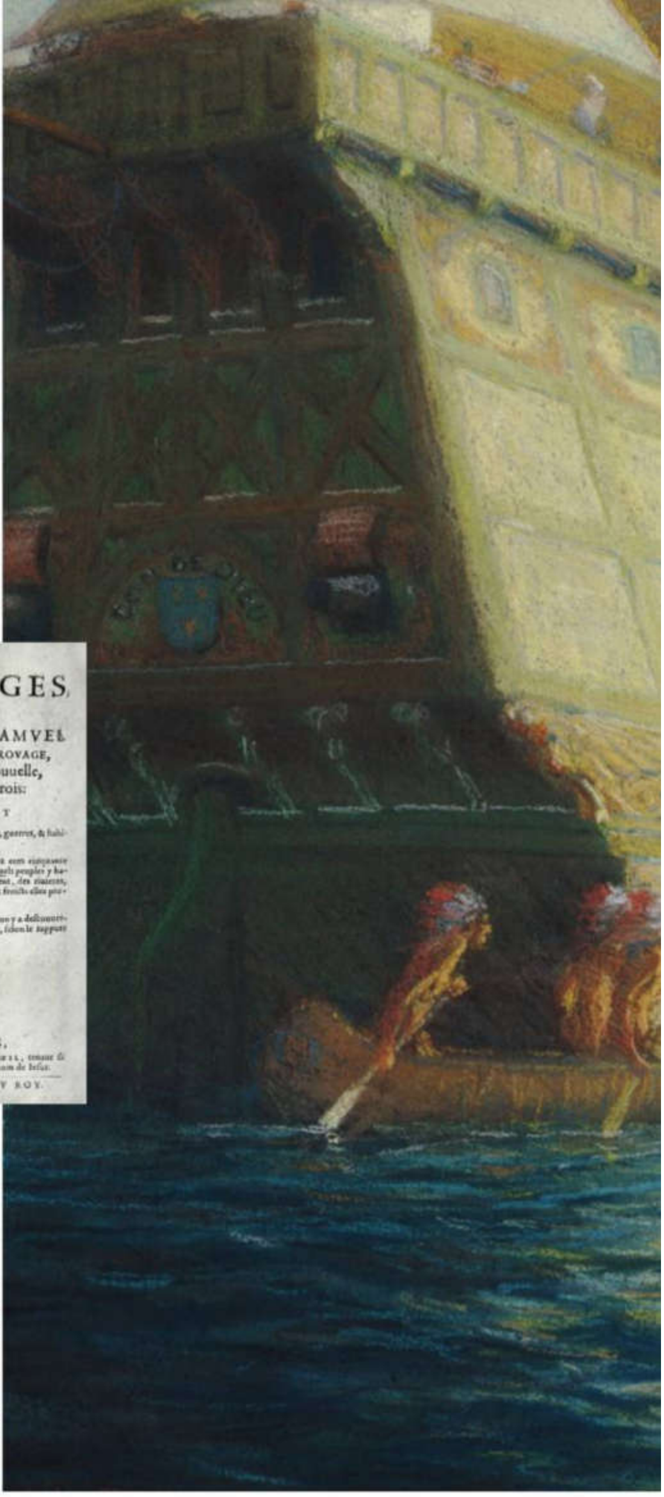

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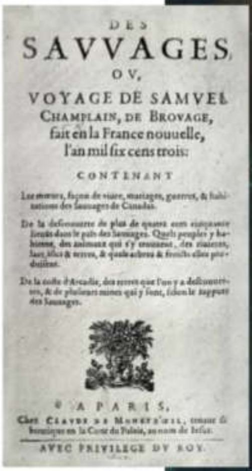
On July 3, 1608, a few heavy boats appeared in the middle of the river near what is now Quebec City; they came from Tadoussac, where their sailors had left their seagoing vessels for fear of going further upstream of the treacherous "Grande Rivière de Canada" (the St. Lawrence).

We can just imagine natives in fast-moving canoes appearing from every corner to greet François Gravé du Pont, leader of the expedition, and his second-in-command, Samuel de Champlain, who had come to build a settlement.

It was certainly a moment of immense celebration between the aboriginals and the strangers who had become "cousins" since their first meeting in 1603 near Tadoussac. This time, the two Frenchmen had come to set up a fur-trading post, as well as a small colony that they hoped would become the cradle of a "new" France.

Champlain and Gravé du Pont could not — and did not — dare mention this to their hosts, who welcomed the French to their territory. The natives saw the French as a new tribe with whom they could intermarry, as was the custom among allies. They also regarded the newcomers as potential trading partners and allies during war, as well as people with whom to exchange ideas on spirituality, ways of living, and the use of new tools and other innovations.



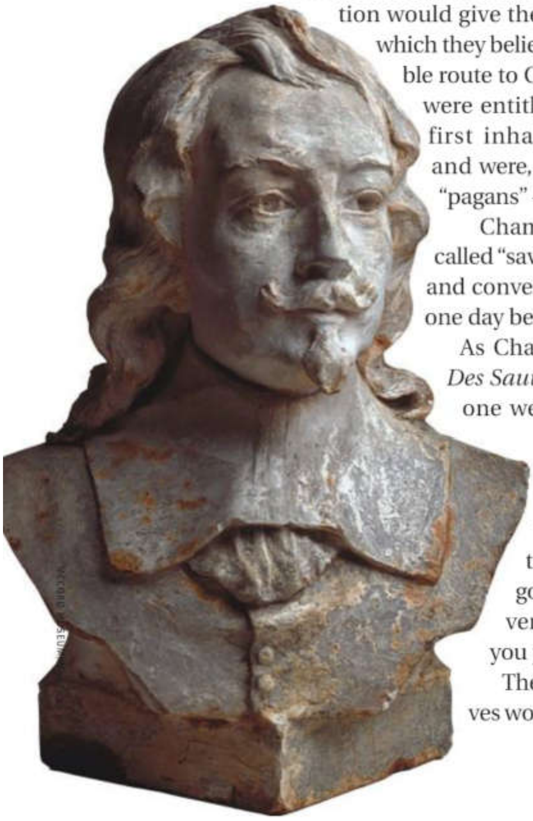
DES
SAVVAGES,
OV,
VOYAGE DE SAMVEL
CHAMPLAIN, DE BROVAGE,
fait en la France nouuelle,
l'an mil ſix cens trois:
CONTENANT

A PARIS,

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

Right: Title page of Samuel de Champlain's 1603 book, *Des Sauvages*, a recounting of the explorer's early travels in New France.

This, however, was not the intention of the French newcomers. Their aim was to capture a piece of America that was still eluding Spain.



Below: Bust of Samuel de Champlain, by Alfred Laliberté.

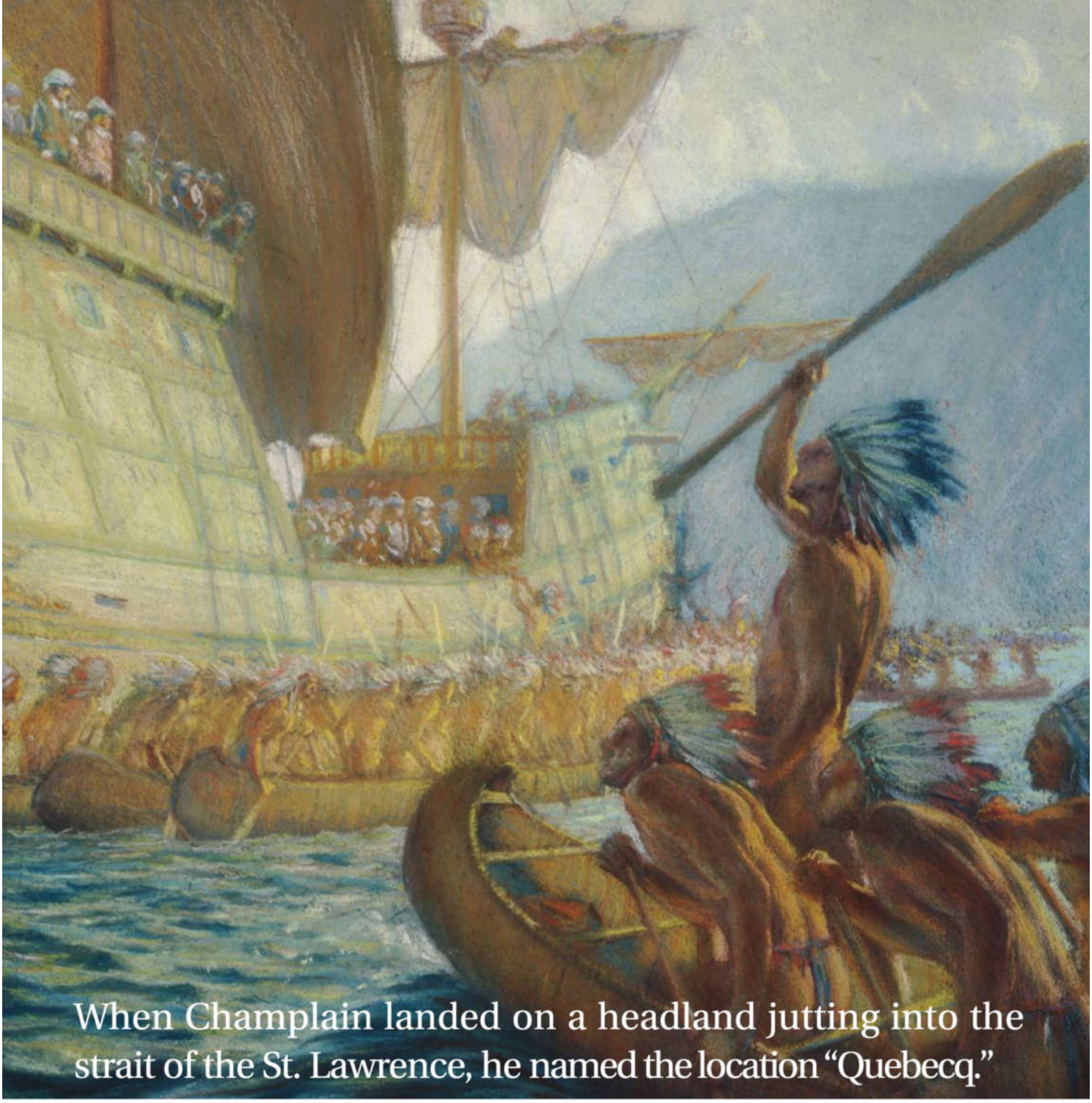
They wanted this land because it was rich in fur; plus, Quebec's location would give them control over the river, which they believed could provide a possible route to China. The French felt they were entitled to the land, since the first inhabitants did not farm it and were, as Champlain later wrote, "pagans" — that is, not Christians.

Champlain believed these so-called "savages," if properly subdued and converted to Christianity, could one day become "civilized."

As Champlain wrote in 1603 in *Des Sauvages*: "I think that if anyone were to show them how to live, and teach them to till the ground, and other matters, they would learn very well; for I assure you that plenty of them have good judgment, and answer very properly any question you put to them."

The French believed the natives would eventually become the subjects of their king and worshippers of Christ. Thus, the very foundation of the relationship between the French and the natives was based on a serious misunderstanding.

When Champlain landed on a headland jutting into the strait of the St. Lawrence, he named the location "Quebecq" — the name, he wrote, by which the "savages" referred to it. It was a variation of *gepèg*, a Mi'kmaq word meaning "strait" or the narrowing of a river.



When Champlain landed on a headland jutting into the strait of the St. Lawrence, he named the location "Quebecq."

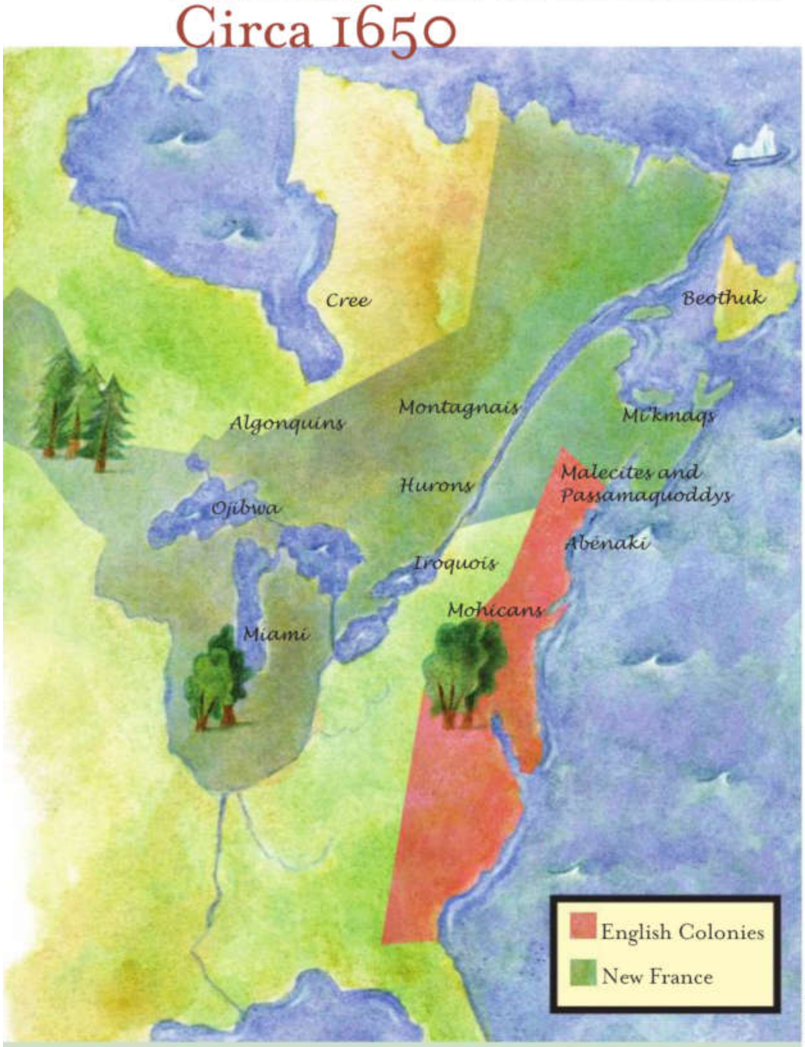
***Arrival of Champlain at Quebec*, a 1909 painting by George Agnew Reid.**

There were no women among the thirty or so members of the French crew, who included loggers, carpenters, sawyers, locksmiths, stonemasons, labourers, and gardeners. They settled within a native summer community of approximately fifteen hundred inhabitants. The natives were primarily Innu (or Montagnais) who claimed the territory, as well as Algonquin, Mi'kmaq, and Maliseet. They gathered primarily to hunt migratory birds and to fish eel at the mouth of the Kabir-Kouba River ("river with a thousand meanders") — today called the St. Charles River — as well as along the grand coastal flats of Beauport and the Sillery headland, which the Montagnais called "Ka-iskouanouangashit" or more precisely, "the place we go fishing."

During the summer months at the encampments, they celebrated marriages, held feasts, and performed ceremonies for their warriors' departure to fight the Iroquois across the Richelieu or Upper St. Lawrence Rivers. They returned to their hunting grounds at the end of October.

At the time, there were no sedentary native farming communities in the region. There had been some when explorer Jacques Cartier visited the area in 1535, as well as when Cartier and Jean-François de la Rocque de Roberval visited between 1541 and 1543. The Stadaconas — farmers from the Iroquoian linguistic family who once had a village on the site of Quebec City — had been driven off the land around 1570. They likely disappeared due to a combination of factors, including wars for access to the fur trade in Tadoussac; epidemics of European origin; and, possibly, increasingly harsh winters that ruined the maize harvests upon which the native farmers relied.

Eastern North America Circa 1650



🟥 English Colonies
🟩 New France

MARC MONGEAU

Champlain's accounts mention more than twenty nations or tribes that belonged to two main linguistic groups — Iroquoian and Algonquian. Champlain forged alliances with the Huron and other nations living along the St. Lawrence River, which led to the French assisting those nations in their wars against the Iroquois Confederacy. Their aboriginal allies, in turn, helped the French in their battles against the British.

Innu oral tradition refers to the Quebec City area by the same geographic feature used by the Mi'kmaq — Uepishtikueiau, which means "strait." According to the still-vivid memories of the elders, Uepishtikueiau, which was in the westernmost region of their territory, was the main gathering place for the Innu people. Besides the fish and game, the region also provided the Innu with large trees from which to make their birchbark canoes.

The Innu still recall the arrival of the "land seekers," the Mishtikushuat — in other words, French builders of wooden boats, who wore hats and spoke a strange language. At that first meeting, the French would have been told to *kapak*, a word that meant to disembark and that other sources believe to be the origin of the name "Quebec."

According to the oral tradition, there was a tense moment at the newcomers' arrival, after which the two sides shook hands with one another and the natives welcomed the strangers. Unfortunately, the traditional stories say, the relationship soon degenerated into a series of battles in which many Innu men were killed. The French demanded Uepishtikueiau be turned over to them, but the demand was rejected. They tried again after the wheat harvest, offering to supply the Innu chief with enough flour to ensure that neither his people nor their descendants would ever have to endure a famine again. This time the Innu accepted the offer. They were also given firearms. The Innu grew to like the French, who, in the meantime, began to increase in number and sought to own all the land around them. The newcomers increased the size of their gardens, put fences around them, and started selling rather than giving.

According to the Innu, as the French became less dependent on their hosts, the newcomers began to look down on the aboriginals, killing their men so they could have the women. The Innu were therefore forced to retreat further down the river.

News of the arrival of the French soon spread to the Great Lakes. A shaman from the Ojibwa tribe in the Sault Ste. Marie region is said to have dreamed of bearded men stepping off the large wooden canoes that had transported them across the sea from the east, bearing long tubes that spat out fire and smoke.

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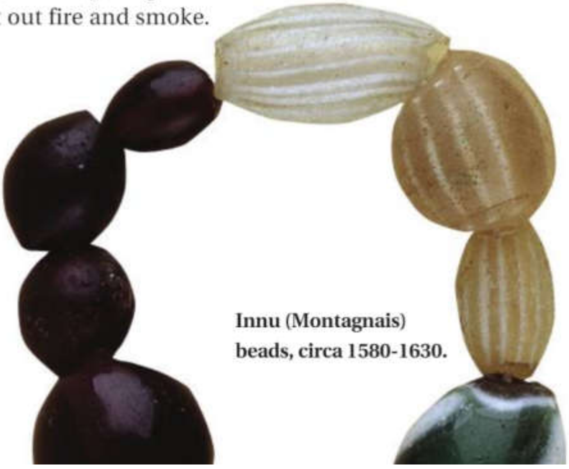

Innu (Montagnais) beads, circa 1580-1630.

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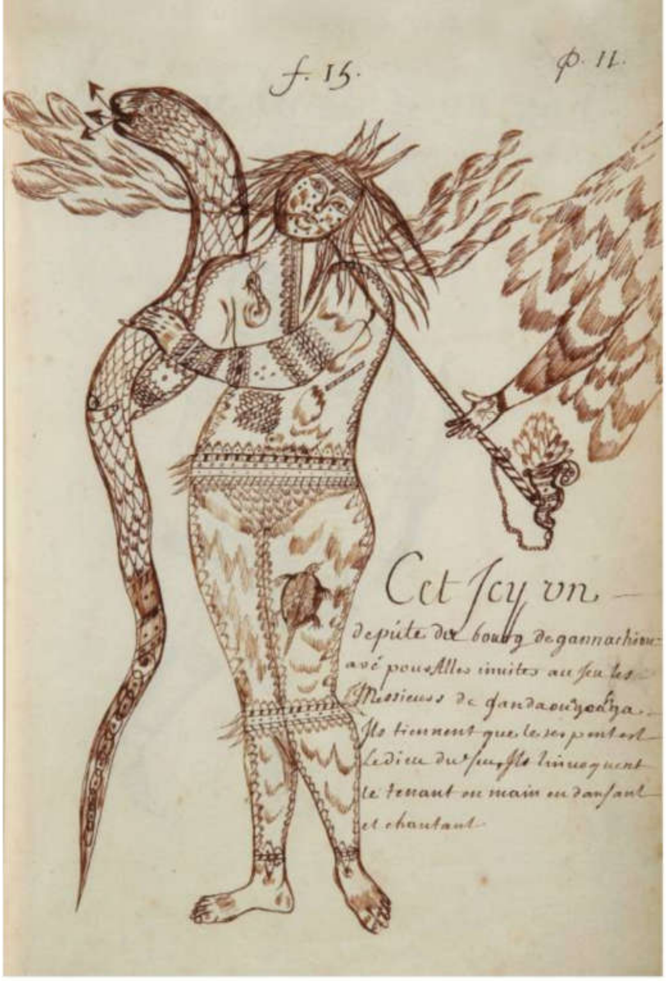
f. 15.
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Cet Jcy vn
deputé du bourg de gannachiou-
avé pous Alles inuites au feu les
Messieurs de gandaouagueha.
Ils tiennent que le serpent est
Le dieu du feu Ils linuaguent
le tenant en main en dansant
et chantant

Left: Image from the *Codex Canadiensis*, a record of aboriginal life and culture made by Jesuit missionary Louis Nicolas, Circa 1664–1675.

The French joined a large alliance in which chiefs and kings were "brothers" and natives and French were "cousins."

Although many cite the 1608 founding of the "Habitation" of Quebec as the date of the founding of Quebec City, and ultimately Canada, others might argue the true founding moment occurred five years earlier.

On May 27, 1603, Champlain and his superior, Gravé du Pont — mandated by their king and accompanied by two Montagnais brought back from France to serve as interpreters — signed a historic alliance with Montagnais Chief Anadabijou amid great celebrations at Pointe Saint-Mathieu, near Tadoussac.

According to historians, other native nations — the Algonquin, Etchemin (Maliseet), and Mi'kmaq — joined in the alliance during the ceremony, or soon afterwards. With this, the French joined a large alliance in which chiefs and kings were "brothers" and natives and French were "cousins." They were linked diplomatically by the obligations of the extended family — the privilege of intermarriage, the obligation to help one another, trade with each other, and mutual protection. The French were thus authorized to settle on the land of their native "cousins" — but in return, had to fight their enemies, who, at the time, were the Iroquois.

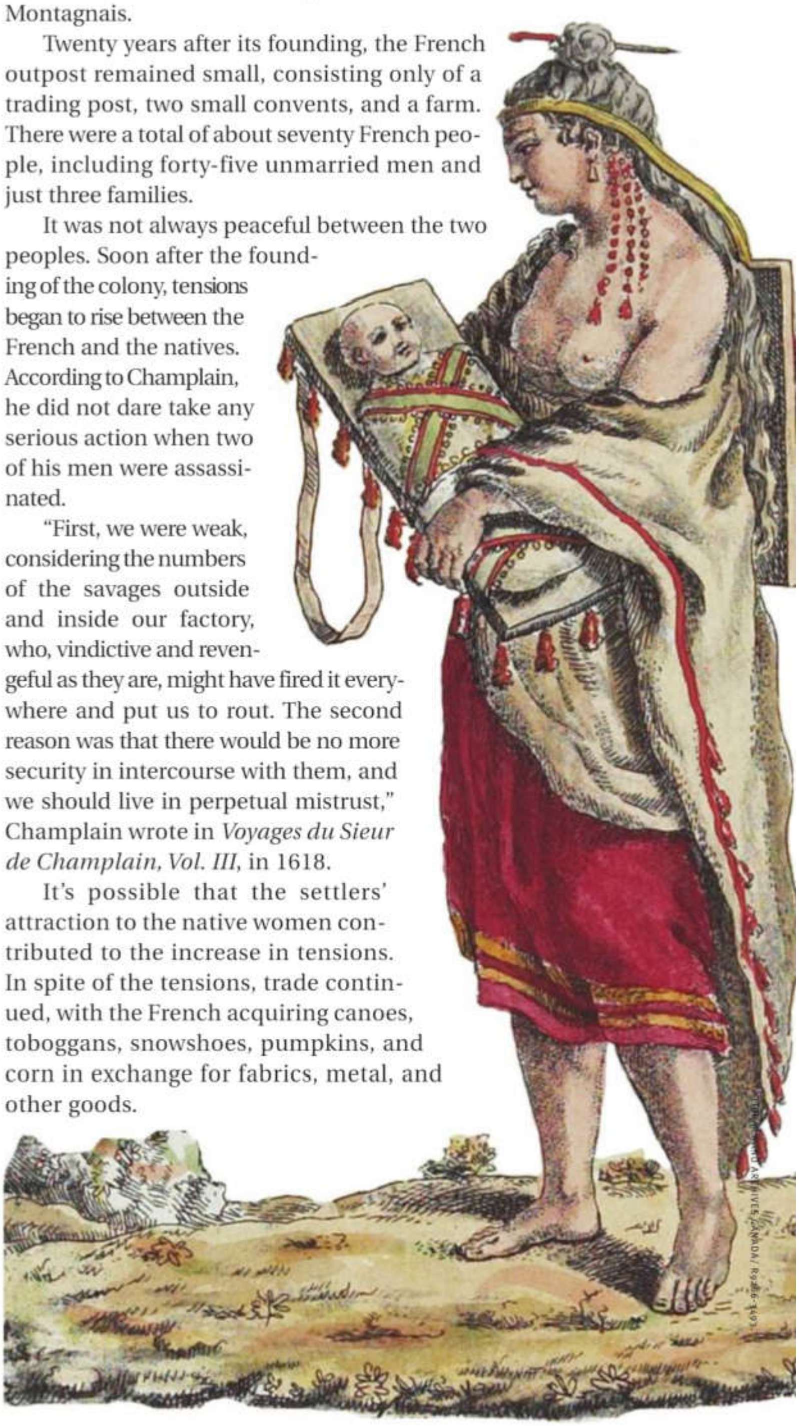
The natives — particularly the Montagnais — played an indispensable role in the early survival of the colony. Indeed, after most of the twenty-eight Frenchmen died of scurvy during the extreme cold of the 1608–1609 winter, subsequent winters were less difficult, thanks to the exchange of food with the Montagnais.

Twenty years after its founding, the French outpost remained small, consisting only of a trading post, two small convents, and a farm. There were a total of about seventy French people, including forty-five unmarried men and just three families.

It was not always peaceful between the two peoples. Soon after the founding of the colony, tensions began to rise between the French and the natives. According to Champlain, he did not dare take any serious action when two of his men were assassinated.

"First, we were weak, considering the numbers of the savages outside and inside our factory, who, vindictive and revengeful as they are, might have fired it everywhere and put us to rout. The second reason was that there would be no more security in intercourse with them, and we should live in perpetual mistrust," Champlain wrote in *Voyages du Sieur de Champlain, Vol. III*, in 1618.

It's possible that the settlers' attraction to the native women contributed to the increase in tensions. In spite of the tensions, trade continued, with the French acquiring canoes, toboggans, snowshoes, pumpkins, and corn in exchange for fabrics, metal, and other goods.



Below: *Sauvagesse Iroquoise*, hand-coloured etching by Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur Circa 1757–1810.

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Right from its beginning, Quebec City was geographically polarized by two worlds: on the one hand, a small garrison lived the French lifestyle within the walls of the Habitation; on the other hand, missionaries and interpreters were living among the aboriginal communities up the river to the Great Lakes.

The colony itself was born during war, and the French were expected to join their native allies in their offensives against the Iroquois — which they did in 1609, 1610, and again in 1615.

Militarily, however, Quebec City was quite weak compared to Jamestown in Virginia, which was founded in 1607 and had more than two thousand settlers. It was therefore no surprise that the Kirke brothers — French Huguenots who managed, for a short period, to conquer much of New France for the English — were able to take possession of the colony in 1629. However, thanks to a recently signed peace treaty between England and France, Quebec City was handed back to the French in 1632.

All through its early history, the colony of Quebec depended on its alliances with the natives for protection and survival. The natives successfully helped the French fend off an attack by New England's William Phips in 1690. In 1759, eighteen hundred native warriors fought side-by-side with the French in their battle against the British.

After the fall of Quebec City, the British concluded treaties with natives living close to the French settlers — including the Huron — recognizing their right to keep their religion, their possessions, and their customs. The native nations joined the "covenant chain" with the British, and most of their warriors fought alongside the British against the Americans during the War of Independence and the War of 1812.

The history of Quebec City is one of interaction among peoples; it is important to know the contributions and exchanges borne out of the alliances as well as the tensions and conflicts that stemmed from the conquests. This is all part of our common heritage.

Denys Delâge is associate professor with the Department of Sociology at Université Laval.

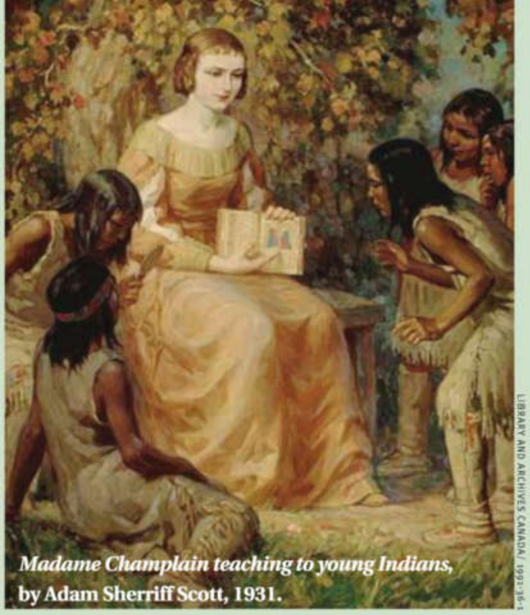
Et Cetera

"Les premiers contacts selon un choix de récits amérindiennes publiés aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles," by Denys Delâge, *Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec*, vol. XXII, Nos. 2–3, Fall 1992.

Nouveaux documents sur Champlain et son époque by R. Le Blant and R. Beaudry, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, 1967.

L'Algonquin Tessouat et la fondation de Montréal. Diplomatie franco-indienne en Nouvelle-France by Rémi Savard, L'Hexagone, Montreal, 1996.

"History of the Ojibway People" by William Warren, *Recherches Amérindiennes au Québec*, vol. XXII, No. 4, Winter 1992–1993.



Madame Champlain teaching to young Indians, by Adam Sherriff Scott, 1931.

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Utopia in New France

Champlain dreamed of creating a united colony of French settlers and "civilized" Christian natives.

In 1633, Samuel de Champlain — accompanied by fifty men — returned from France to his Quebec habitation with plans to set up a French province exclusively for Catholics. But how was he to achieve that goal with no female immigrants? The answer: Establish a few devout Catholic families among the natives, to set the example for faith and work.

"Our young men will marry your daughters, and we shall be one people," Champlain explained to the chiefs. But this was no easy feat.

The Jesuits took the initiative with this utopian project. They built a house in Sillery, just west of Quebec City, and cleared the fields. They constructed houses for two Christian Montagnais chiefs renowned for their loyalty, Noël Negabamat and François-Xavier Negaskoumat, and their families. They were to settle down and learn how to live a sedentary life.

In 1639, Ursuline nuns arrived in Quebec City. Together with the Jesuits, they soon set up boarding schools for native boys and girls — mostly children of the chiefs. The nuns taught lessons in three languages: French, Montagnais, and Huron.

In 1651, the Jesuits conceded Sillery — a five-kilometre-by-twenty-kilometre stretch along the river that was under their patronage — to the "novice Christians." The few French inhabitants who came to settle there thus had "savage chiefs" as their lords. As the Crown deemed it "very reasonable" for the "savages" to keep land "in their own country" that they would need in order to live near the French, it also provided for such concessions to be made close to all French forts. Some forty First Nations families came to settle in Sillery, but the experiment ultimately failed.

The natives resisted the sedentary life, and also suffered from epidemics, not to mention raids from Iroquois warriors. The mission soon became almost deserted, and then burned down.

As French families began to settle in the seigneury of Sillery, colonial authorities felt it was ridiculous for the "savages" to be lords. The king reclaimed control over the colony in 1663. The Huron lost possession of the land, first to their Jesuit teachers and then to the British Crown. The Huron today continue to make petitions for its return, or for compensation.

— Denys Delâge

Max Gros-Louis, Grand Chief of the Huron-Wendat First Nation.

CP PHOTO/FRANCIS VACHON

The Huron-Wendat: Proud of their past, focused on the future.

The Huron-Wendat First Nation has been designated the "host nation" for Quebec City's 400th anniversary. Although historians haven't been able to confirm a connection, Huron-Wendat Grand Chief Max Gros-Louis believes his people are connected with the natives who were living in the Quebec City area when European explorers first arrived there four centuries ago.

Stadacona — a village fortified by palisades — stood on what is now Quebec City when Jacques Cartier visited in 1535. At the time, it was a thriving community of about 500 Iroquoian-speaking people who cultivated crops. There was no sign of the community when Samuel de Champlain arrived in 1608 to found Quebec City. To this day, experts are uncertain what caused the disappearance of these people. Theories include war, disease, or famine brought on by crop failure.

"We don't know either," Gros-Louis says. "Maybe we went to the Great Lakes." The Huron-Wendat people are part of an Iroquoian linguistic group commonly referred to as the Huron. (Although related by language, they were not part of the Iroquois Confederacy, which includes the Mohawk and other nations.)

When Champlain arrived in Quebec City, there were about 30,000 Huron in the region. Champlain formed a trade alliance with them, and joined in their battles against the Iroquois of the Great Lakes region. Subsequent wars and epidemics proved devastating to the Huron, who saw their population plummet. In 1697, about three hundred Huron came up from Ontario's Georgian Bay region and settled near Quebec City. The Huron-Wendat First Nation is descended from these people. "At that time it was a forest here and the St. Lawrence River was our highway," Gros-Louis said. "We were using it to travel from one nation to another because we were doing all kinds of business."

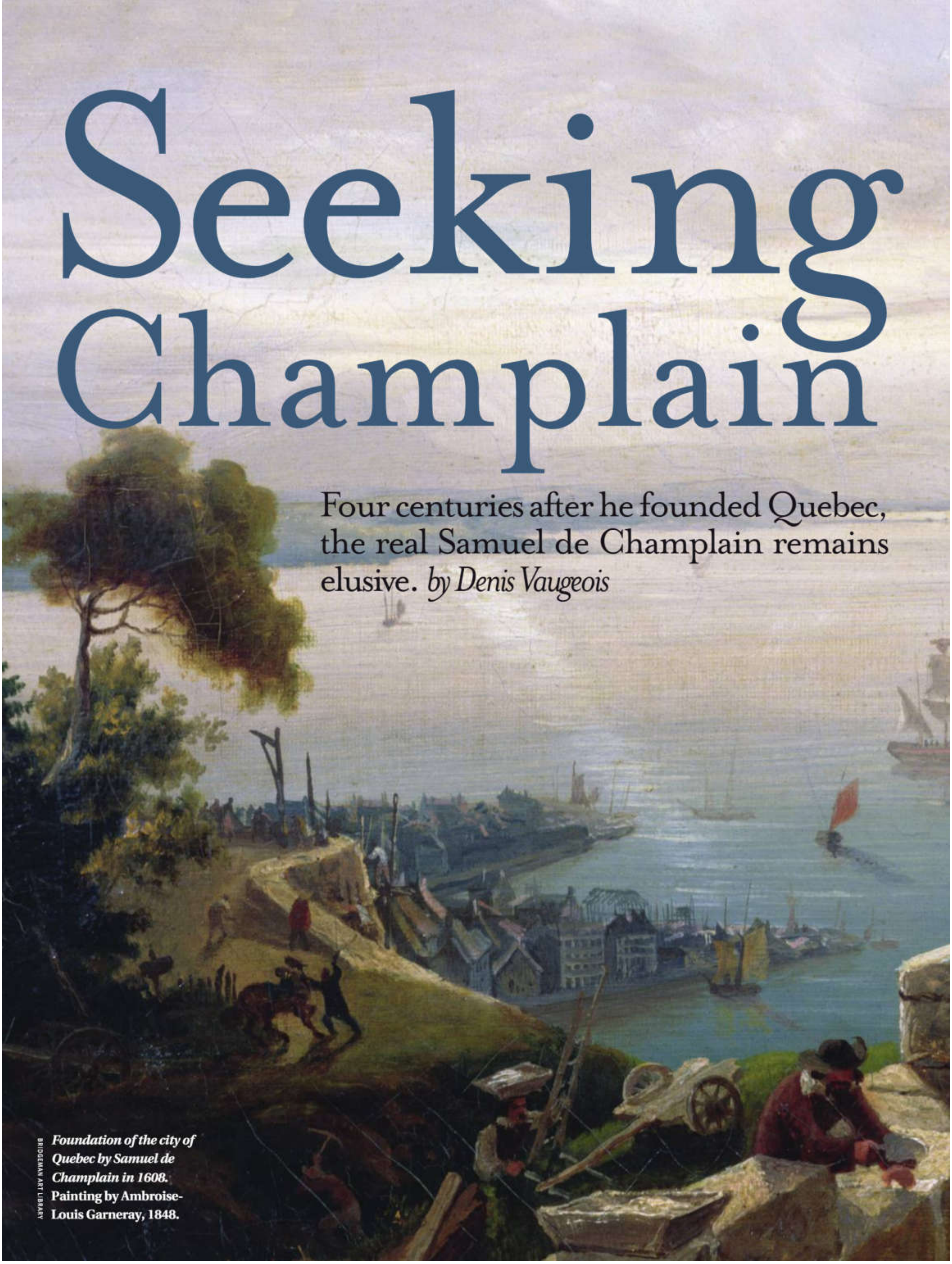
Today's Huron-Wendat First Nation is located at Wendake, about ten kilometres north of Quebec City's downtown. The thriving community has a population of about thirteen hundred natives and four hundred non-natives. It boasts full employment for its own people, and provides jobs for about one hundred and fifty non-Huron-Wendat natives and about two hundred Quebec City non-natives.

Gros-Louis, who has been grand chief for thirty-two of his seventy-six years, disagrees with the notion that Europeans "discovered" the St. Lawrence, or the Quebec City region. The European explorers were searching for a quick route to China or India, he points out, adding, "they were lost. You don't discover something that is already occupied."

The Huron had their own form of government, and their own language and culture when Champlain arrived. Over the centuries, Gros-Louis said, much of that culture was lost; indeed, the Huron now speak French, rather than their own native Iroquoian language. "We are trying to correct that," Gros-Louis said. Today, the Huron-Wendat look to the future with optimism. Armed with land claims and Supreme Court judgments, they hope to negotiate self-government for their First Nation. — Kevin Dougherty

Seeking Champlain

Four centuries after he founded Quebec, the real Samuel de Champlain remains elusive. *by Denis Vaugeois*



Foundation of the city of Quebec by Samuel de Champlain in 1608. **Painting by Ambroise-Louis Garneray, 1848.**

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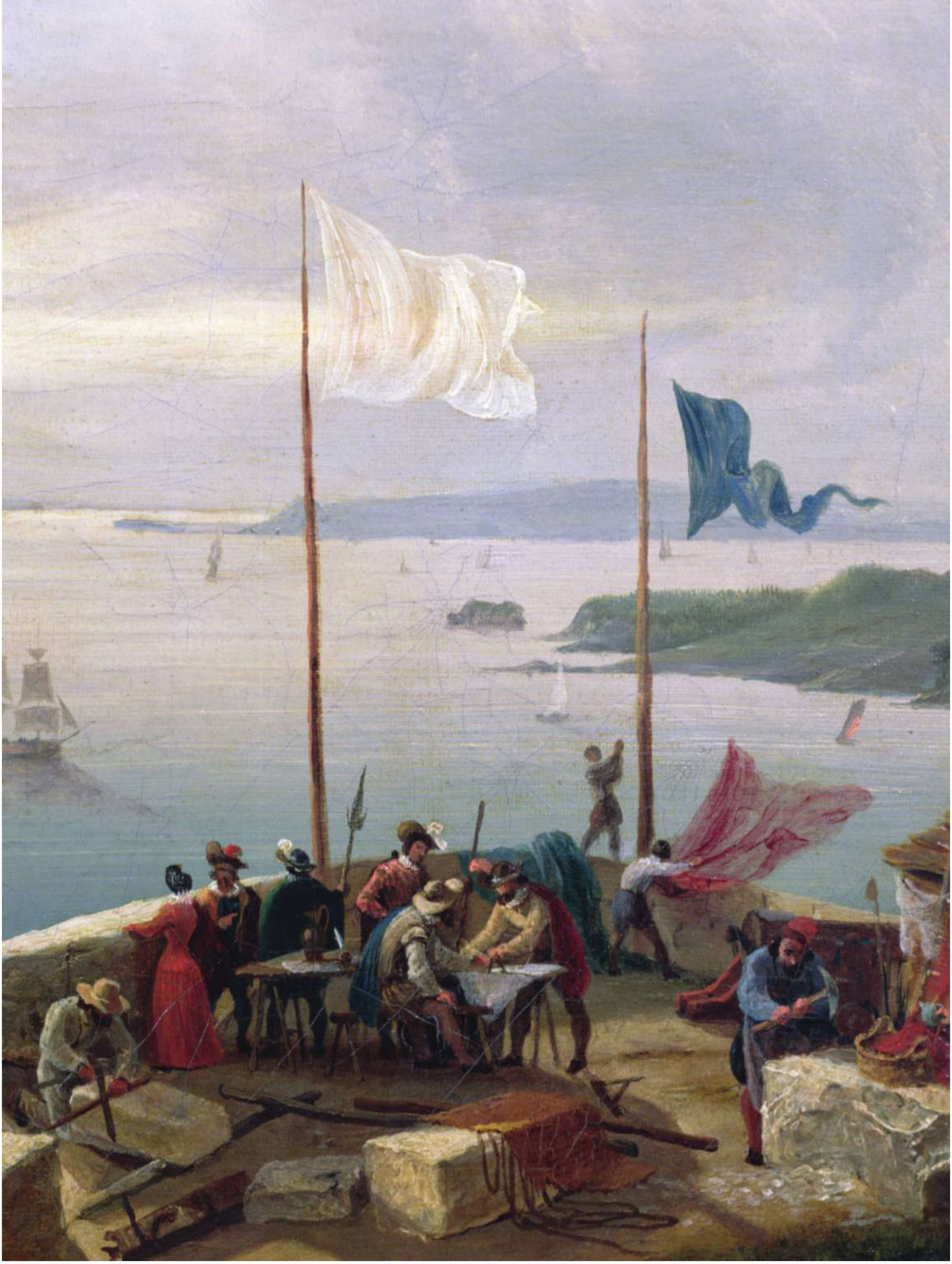
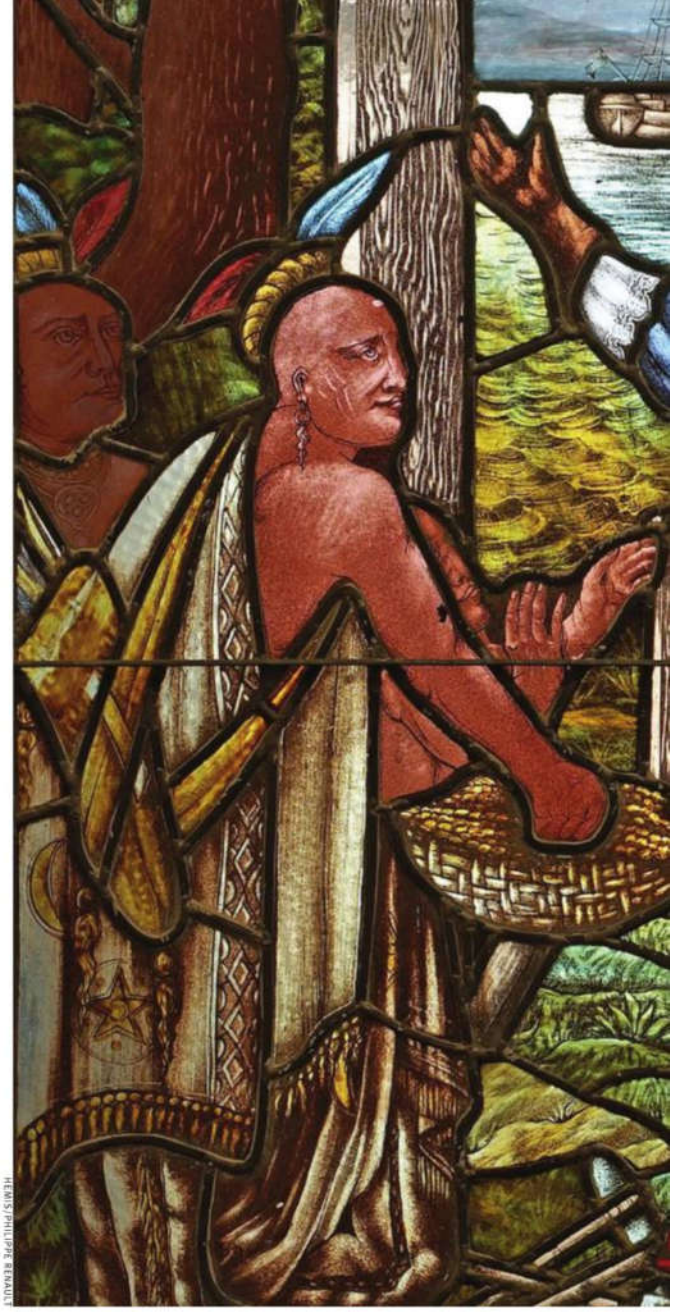


When it comes to the mysterious founder of the colony of Quebec, there are so many questions, and so few concrete answers.



HEMIS/PHILIPPE RENAULT

Is it Samuel Champlain, or Samuel de Champlain? The short "de" can make a considerable difference. To the French, the word "de" generally denotes a noble origin. Was Champlain of noble birth?

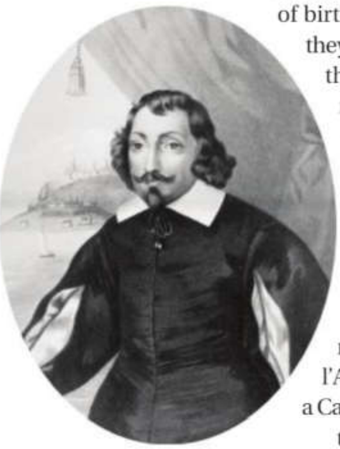
His first book, written in 1603, was titled *Des Sauvages, ou, Voyages de Samuel Champlain de Brouage.* Ten years later, he published *Voyages du sieur de Champlain Xaintongeois.* This time, Champlain's nom de plume carried the particle "de." The fact that he added Xaintongeois is not at issue; after all, Brouage, which he names as his hometown, is in the French province of Saintonge.

In actual fact, we don't know anything about Champlain's birth.

Based on skilful deductions, experts place his year of birth between 1567 and 1580. Even though they have no documentary proof, they agree that he came from Brouage. Champlain's marriage contract describes him as "a noble man, son of the noble Antoine." The terms used have left historians perplexed. Is Champlain a nobleman or a commoner? That single indication on his marriage contract does not answer the question.

Even his religion is uncertain. His marriage took place in the Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois Catholic church. But was he born a Catholic? It's very difficult to answer either of these questions unequivocally.

In fact, most of what is known about Champlain comes primarily from the four works that he published — the accounts of his adventures in North America, presented in chronological order. He obviously felt no need to write about his sojourns in France and even less to provide details of his personal life.



Champlain

False portrait of Samuel de Champlain, based on an engraved portrait of Michael Particelli d'Emery by Balthazar Moncornet, dated 1654.

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So it's almost by accident that he mentioned, in one of his writings, that he was married.

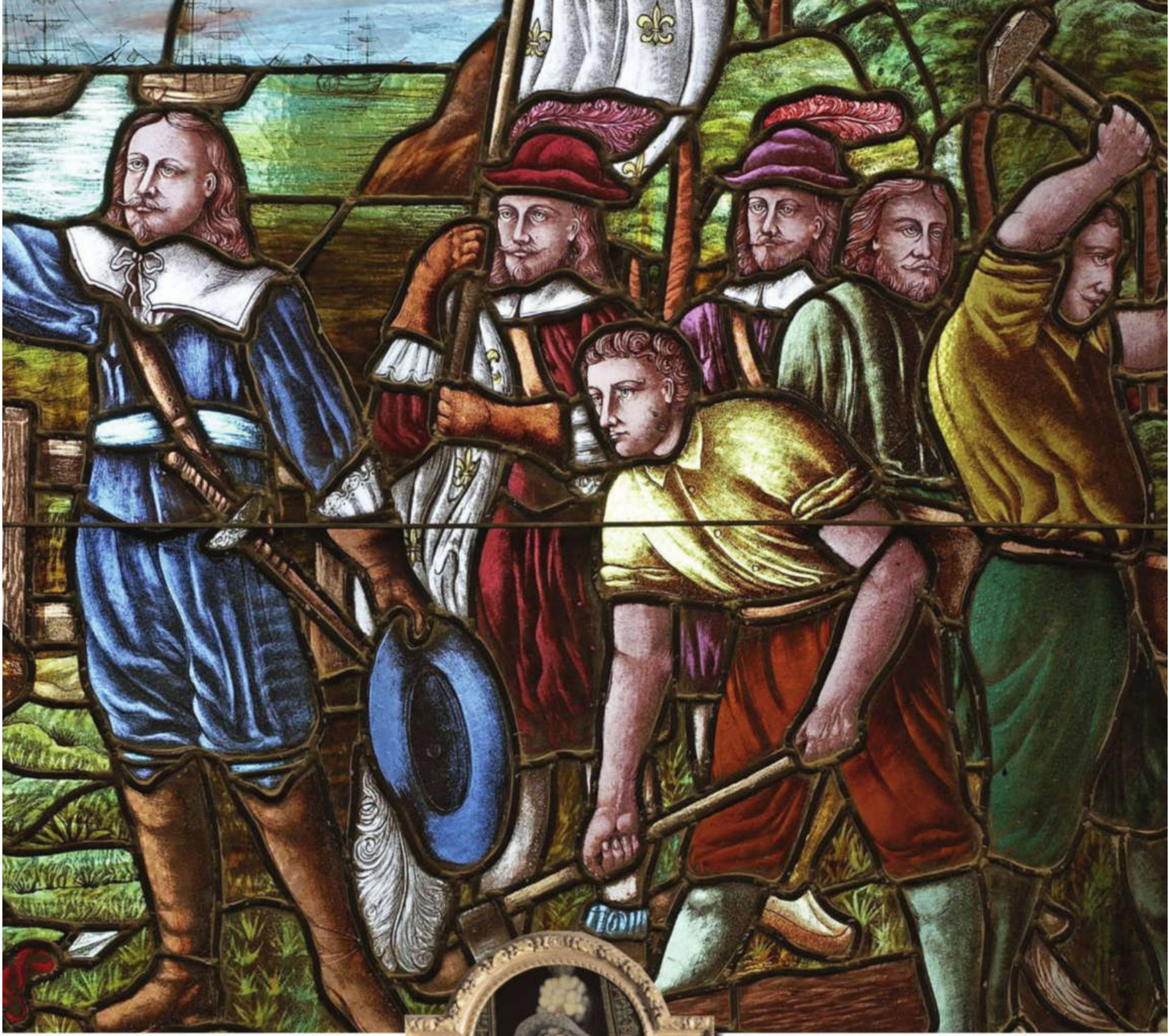
In 1632, he wrote: "In 1620, my family and I returned to New France; we arrived there in May. ... Everyone thanked God for our safe arrival, in particular myself; my family had to endure many discomforts during the rough passage." On July 8, he adds, "a small boat" came to meet them at Tadoussac. Champlain notes: "Sieur Boullé, my brother-in-law, was in the boat and he was very surprised to see his sister and her determination to cross such rough seas; he was very pleased as were her [my wife] and I."

Although Champlain published over one thousand pages in four books, he never again mentions his wife. Eustache Boullé (sometimes spelled Boulé, Boullet, or Boullay), to whom he referred as his brother-in-law, was Champlain's right-hand man. Champlain brought "his family" back to France in 1624.

To date, no correspondence between Champlain and his wife has been found. The couple married in December 1610. Although the beginning of their union was stormy, they gradually settled into married life. Hélène Boullé, a young bride aged twelve, was a Calvinist, but she converted to Catholicism shortly after her marriage and even went as far as convincing her brother to convert. He joined the Order of the Minimes Brothers in the 1630s, while she eventually became an Ursuline nun after the death of her husband.

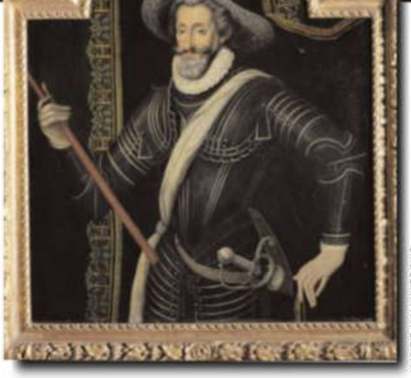
Financially independent

There remains one big question about the union: Did Champlain marry for convenience? Was it for the dowry?



Or was it for the network of influence the marriage provided, especially following the death of King Henry IV? The question we really should be asking is: What was the state of Champlain's finances?

Historian Joe C.W. Armstrong, with the help of the archivist Victorin Chabot, decided to study a document that had been overlooked by researchers. It was a statement made under oath by one Guillermo Elena, who was known to historians as a *capitaine provençal* (a captain from Provence).



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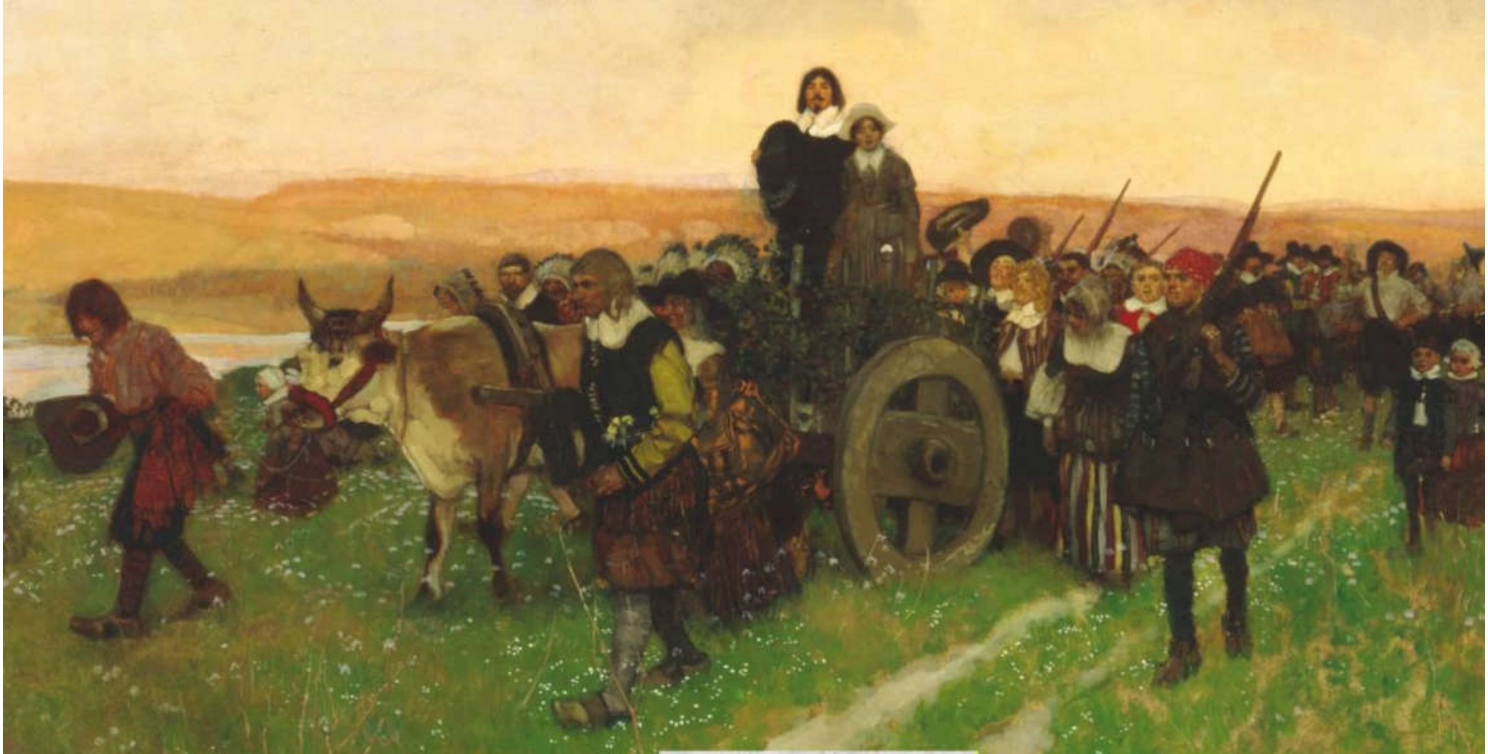
On his deathbed, he chose to leave his property to Champlain, who had followed him to Cadiz, in southwestern Spain, after the Treaty of Vervins in 1598 ended France's conflict with Spain. They were apart during Champlain's long voyage to the Spanish colonies in America (1599–1601). Champlain returned just in time to take care of the man he considered his uncle. Overnight, Champlain became a rich man.

Although financially independent, Champlain was in no position to fund a colonization project single-handedly. That was not a project to be taken on by an individual; it had to be a state affair.

When Aymar de Chaste, the new holder of the trade monopoly for the St. Lawrence, suggested that Champlain accompany François Dupont-Gravé to Canada, the former agreed, subject to "the orders of his majesty, to whom I am

Above: *Foundation of Quebec City by Samuel de Champlain 1608,* a work in stained glass at the National Assembly in the parliament of Quebec. Made by Gauthier et frères in 1920.

Left: *Henry IV, King of France and Navarre,* circa 1595, French school (16th century).



Above: *Arrival of Madame Champlain at Quebec 1620,* painting by Frank Craig, 1909.

Right: Champlain's 1632 book, *Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France occidentale, dicte Canada.*

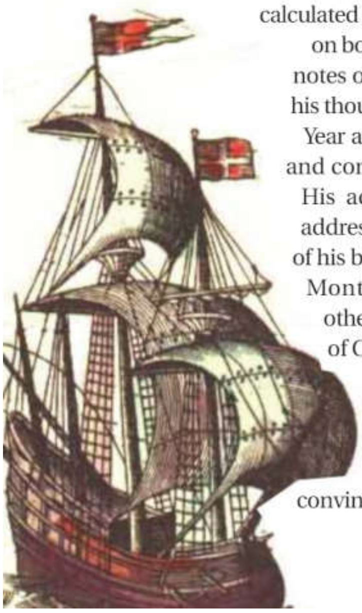
obligated both for my birth and the pension that I am honoured to receive." Thus, Dupont-Gravé received an official letter from the orders secretary requesting that he take Champlain on board and help him "as much as possible for the undertaking."

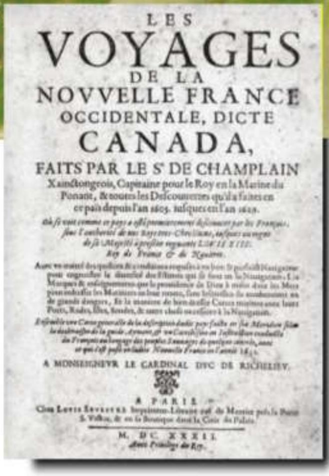
Champlain's main responsibility was to "to submit a faithful report" to the king.

From 1603, Champlain travelled to the St. Lawrence region several times with Dupont-Gravé and carried out his work as an explorer and geographer.

He studied his surroundings, learned from the natives, calculated his position and made notes. Whether he was on board a canoe, inside a tent, or in a hut, he made notes of his observations, added comments and put his thoughts in order. That was the way he worked.

Year after year, he knew he had to explain his work and convince those who were funding his voyages. His accounts were articles of propaganda. He addressed business people and merchants; the first of his books was dedicated to Admiral Charles de Montmorency, the second to King Henry IV, and others to the Regent Marie de Medicis, the Prince of Condé, and the new king, Louis XIII. Not only did he navigate the Atlantic, he also waded through the intrigues of the court, political battles, and religious quarrels. He had access to influential people; all he had to do was convince them to support his endeavours.





LES
VOYAGES
DE LA
NOVVELLE FRANCE
OCCIDENTALE, DICTE
CANADA,
FAITS PAR LE S^r DE CHAMPLAIN
Xainctongeois, Capitaine pour le Roy en la Marine du Ponant, & toutes les Descouuertes qu'il a faites en ce païs depuis l'an 1603. iusques en l'an 1629.

A MONSEIGNEVR LE CARDINAL DVC DE RICHELIEV.

A PARIS

M. DC. XXXII.

BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

Prolific author and visionary

Champlain was not satisfied with simply producing reports or papers. He wrote long accounts of his travels in 1603, 1613, 1619, and 1632. He was so prolific a writer that historians are overwhelmed by his work. Was he aware of the role he was playing? Was he protecting his image and upholding his dreams at the same time?

Champlain has often been portrayed as a devout and enigmatic man who was unaffected by glory and disinterested in worldly goods. Indeed, he bequeathed most of his property to the Virgin Mary and the church of Notre-Dame-de-la-Recouvrance in Quebec City. Also, towards the end of his life, he had the lives of the saints read to him during his evening meal.

The Jesuits also had a profound impact on him. The Jesuits influenced Champlain while he was writing the record of his voyages in 1632. The young native girls dancing nude in Tadoussac in 1603's *Des Sauvages* had disappeared, and so had the "shameless" Huron from Otouacha who "brazenly" offered herself to him.

Champlain immediately understood the importance of the native people; he yearned to know them and strove to make them known. He established a personal relationship with several chiefs in the region, including Anadabijou, Messamouet, Miristou, Nibachis, Tessouat, Batiscan, and Ochateguin. He laid the groundwork for alliances that would enable the French to develop the fur trade, as well as travel across, explore and map the continent.

From the moment he stepped on North American soil, Champlain was focused on one goal — finding a way to cross the continent that obstructed the route to China. Right from his first voyage (c.1599) to the Caribbean and Central America, he foresaw the development of a considerable fifteen-hundred-league shortcut via the Isthmus of Panama. His ideas became clearer over the years. In the two letters he wrote in 1618 — one for the Chamber of Commerce and the second for the king — he made an inventory of the wealth available in New France: fishing, pelts, timber, mines, agriculture, and livestock, not to mention the profits to be obtained from the "short route to China." Naturally, he did not omit the establishment of the Christian faith "among countless numbers of souls" spread over an immense territory "watered by the fairest rivers in the world."

In the letter to the king, he emphasized the revenues that would be generated from the trade in "merchandise from China and the Indies" and the customs duties that would be collected.

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Explorer and cartographer

They say a picture is worth a thousand words. If so, then Champlain's sketches tell us volumes about his love for drawing.

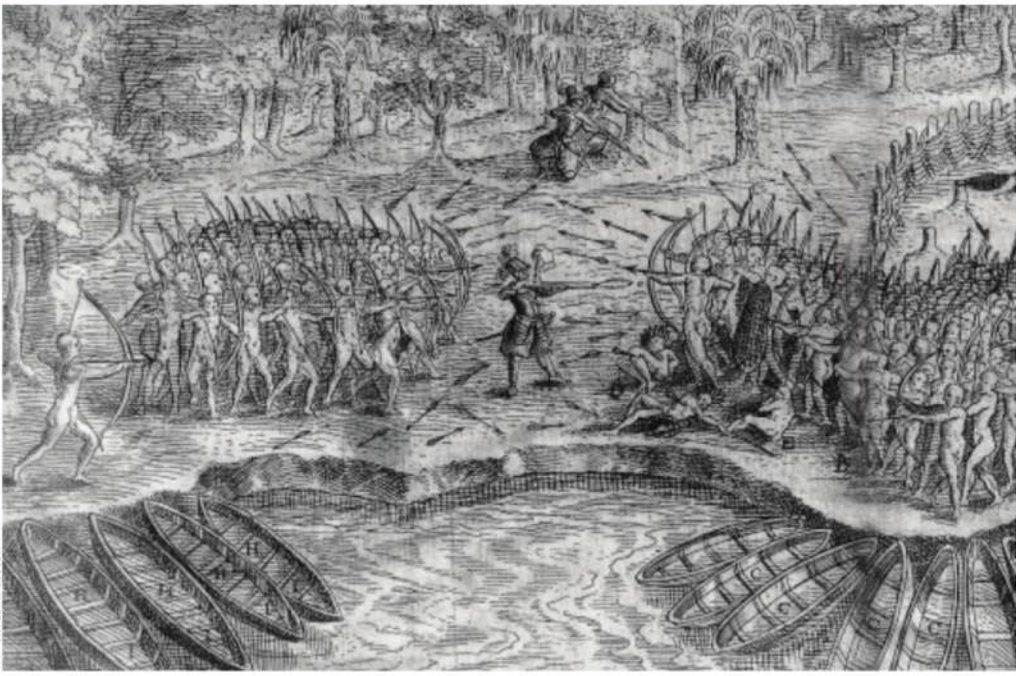
There was no doubt he had studied the basics of cartography; right from his very first essays, he revealed a surprisingly extensive knowledge of the various calculations required to create maps, and astounded experts with the precision of his calculations. Conrad E. Heidenreich demonstrates this eloquently in *Cartographica* (Monograph nº 17/1976). Although he started off using his own observations, Champlain was also smart enough to enlist the help of native people as guides throughout his journeys in North America.

In creating his maps, Champlain also relied on information gathered from European explorers; for instance, he used information on Virginia prepared by John Smith. Although very little is known about the sources he used for Newfoundland and Labrador, the same cannot be said about his representation of the Hudson strait and bay. Even today, experts wonder — how could his 1613 map have been so accurate? After all, even though he would have loved to have visited them, and also held on to the hope of finding a passage to China, he never actually explored those regions. He believed that if it was possible to circumvent the Americas via the south, there was no reason why a similar route couldn't be found via the north.

During his first voyage (1603), he explored a stretch along the St. Lawrence River measuring more than twenty-five hundred kilometres and gathered a significant amount of information from the native people. He also learned that the Saguenay, through a series of lakes and rivers, led to a large bay (Hudson Bay). Between 1604 and 1607, he explored approximately two thousand kilometres along the Atlantic coast up to Massachusetts.

In 1608, Champlain returned to the St. Lawrence. His mind made up, he established a permanent post at a place called "Quebecq" that he had visited in 1603 and that Guillaume Levasseur had clearly indicated on his 1601 map, most probably prompted by Dupont-Gravé. Note that the name Quebecq replaced Stadacona, which was the name of the original native village located there. Dupont-Gravé, who was very close to the natives, was told the word Quebecq meant "where the river narrows."

The French explorer Jacques Cartier first visited Stadacona in 1535. By the time Champlain arrived, the natives of this agricultural village seemed to have disappeared: "The country was then inhabited by more settled people than it is now," Champlain wrote. The disappearance of the natives was, for a long time, thought be to due to wars between rival aboriginal groups. Today, however, historians better understand the terrible toll European-borne diseases, such as smallpox, took on native communities in the region.



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Champlain, fires his arquebus into a crowd of Iroquois as his Huron allies pelt their enemies with arrows, in this engraving attributed to the famed French explorer. The attack took place in 1609.

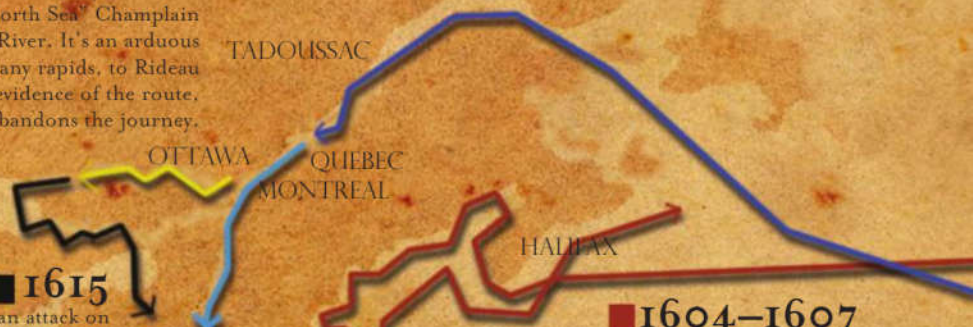
Champlain took for granted that the King of the time had "the fierce desire to send people to the place."

Champlain wanted to keep exploring to the west, but the native people were reluctant. They negotiated. Champlain first had to help the Hurons fight the Iroquois. In 1609 and 1610, he fought valiantly in the raids. Everything went well the first time.

Standing before a group of defiant Iroquois warriors, Champlain and his Huron allies attacked: "I held my arquebus against my cheek and aimed directly at one of the three chiefs. Suddenly, two fell to the ground and one of their

THE VOYAGES

Explorer, geographer, cartographer: Samuel de Champlain's



■ 1613

After he's told of the discovery of a route to the fabled "North Sea" Champlain explores the Ottawa River. It's an arduous journey, through many rapids, to Rideau Falls. Finding no evidence of the route, Champlain abandons the journey.

■ 1615

Champlain and Huron warriors launch an attack on the Iroquois. Travelling up the Ottawa River as far as Lake Huron, Champlain is wounded at Lake Simcoe. Forced to retreat across the eastern portion of Lake Ontario, Champlain spends the winter convalescing with the Huron before returning to Quebec.

■ 1608–1609

Champlain returns to the St. Lawrence and founds Quebec. The following year, he joins a war party of Montagnais, Algonquins and Hurons against the Iroquois. They enter the Rivière des Iroquois (Richelieu) and arrive at what's today known as Lake Champlain.

■ 1604–1607

Champlain helps Pierre Dugua de Mons found the colony of Port Royal (now Annapolis Royal, N.S.). Beginning in 1605, he spends three years surveying the eastern coastline from Nova Scotia to Cape Cod, Massachusetts.

THE AGE OF DISCOVERY:

St. Brendan

Tales abound of St. Brendan, an Irish monk who lived in the sixth century, travelling across the Atlantic Ocean. Some speculate that the monk actually made it to Newfoundland.

Vikings

Greenlandic sagas suggest Bjarni Herjulfsson was the first European to spot North America, in the tenth century. Leif Ericsson later tries to form a colony at Vinland — possibly present-day Newfoundland.

European fishermen

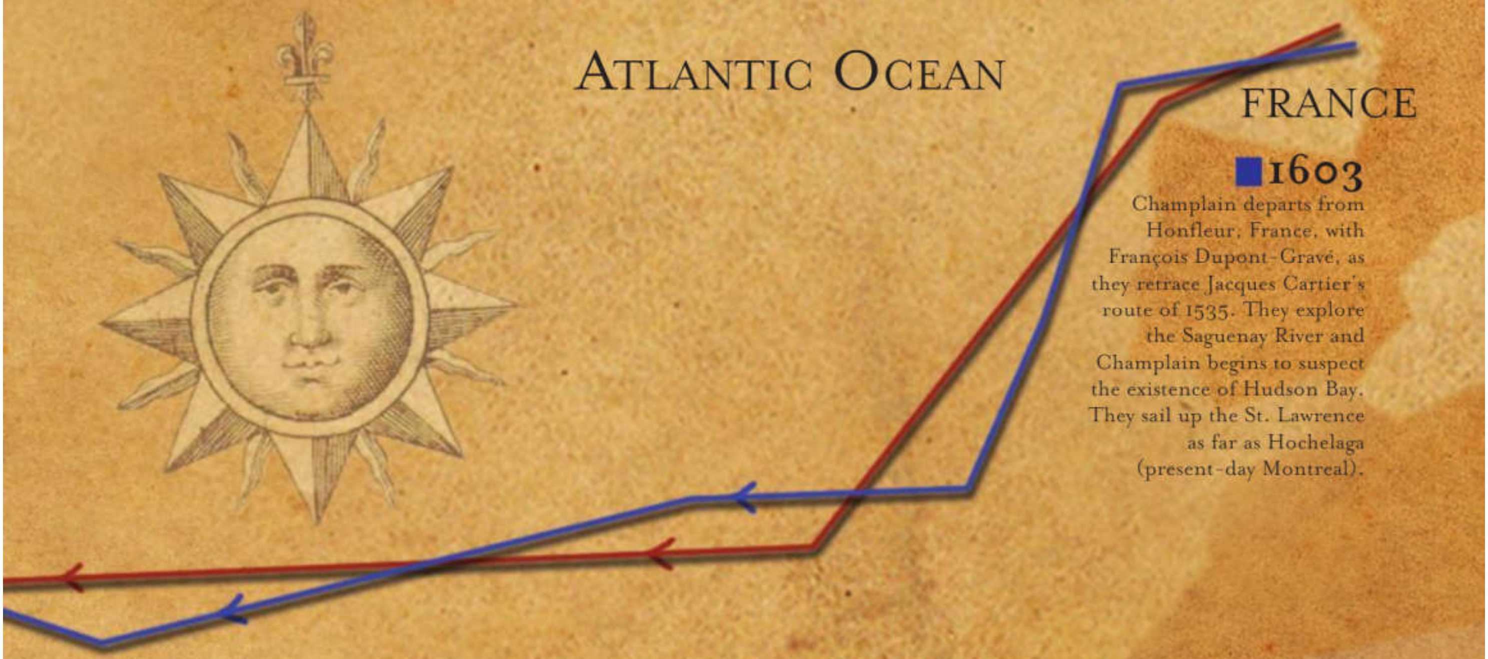
Records suggest that from 1480 onwards, European fishermen fished off the coast of North America and may have established facilities for processing fish at Newfoundland.

Christopher Columbus

In 1492, sailing for the Spanish crown, Columbus arrives in what is now the Bahamas and names it San Salvador. He believes that he has arrived in India.

# of CHAMPLAIN

journeys helped open North America to exploration.



🟦 1603
Champlain departs from Honfleur, France, with François Dupont-Gravé, as they retrace Jacques Cartier's route of 1535. They explore the Saguenay River and Champlain begins to suspect the existence of Hudson Bay. They sail up the St. Lawrence as far as Hochelaga (present-day Montreal).

THE EARLY EXPLORERS

John Cabot
Born in Italy, Giovanni Caboto moves to England and sails from Bristol in 1497, arriving on the northeast coast of North America. His exact landing point is unknown.

Giovanni da Verrazzano
Verrazzano, an Italian, sails for France in either 1524 or 1525 and arrives off the coast of the present-day Carolinas. Heading north, he visits New York's harbour and sails to Newfoundland before returning to France.

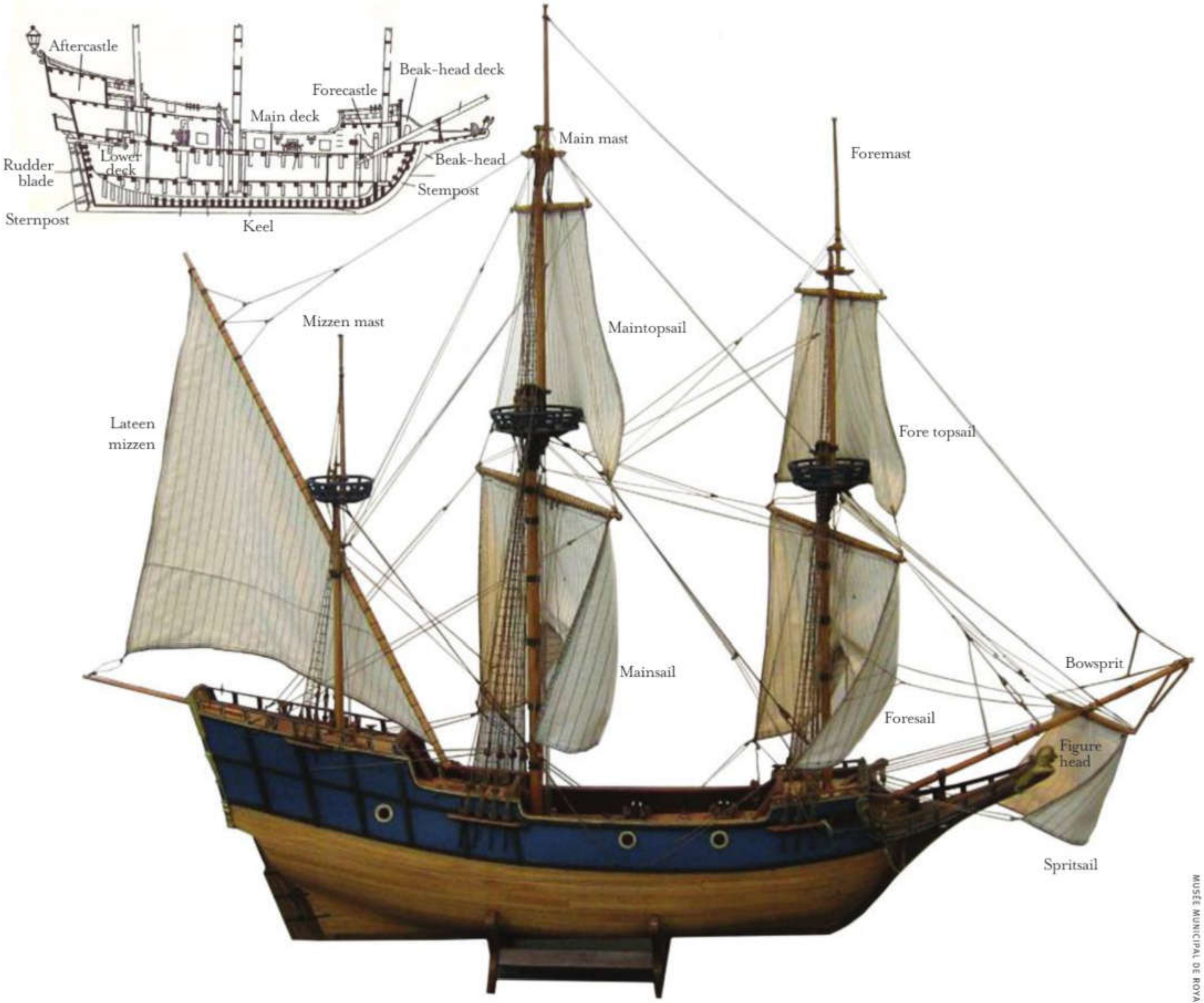
Jacques Cartier
In 1534, Cartier departs France, looking for a sea route through North America to Asia. He becomes the first European to map the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In 1535, he travels up the St. Lawrence as far as Hochelaga.

Henry Hudson
Hudson, an English navigator and explorer, in 1610 discovers Hudson Strait, Hudson Bay, and James Bay while looking for a northwest passage to Asia.

MAP: MICHEL GROLEAU. TEXT BY KRISTEN FRY

The Don de Dieu

The *Don de Dieu*, meaning "Gift of God" was a 135-tonne ship commanded by Samuel de Champlain. In 1608 the wooden vessel sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as Tadoussac, bringing thirty colonists. From there they travelled in smaller boats and on July 3, 1608, Champlain founded what was to become the city of Quebec. The *Don de Dieu* was loaded with provisions for a year and the material needed to build a permanent settlement, "l'Abitation." Aboard the ship were saws to cut trees and planks, shovels to dig ditches and cellars, wheat and rye to plant crops, plus vines, fruit trees, and vegetable seeds.


Aftercastle
Beak-head deck
Forecastle
Main deck
Lower deck
Rudder blade
Beak-head
Stempost
Sternpost
Keel
Main mast
Foremast
Mizzen mast
Maintopsail
Lateen mizzen
Fore topsail
Mainsail
Bowsprit
Foresail
Figure head
Spritsail

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THE LIFE OF CHAMPLAIN

1567

The earliest estimated date of Samuel de Champlain's birth. It's believed he was born sometime between 1567 and 1580.

1599

Champlain travels to the Caribbean and South America.

1603

Champlain makes his first trip to North America and maps the St. Lawrence River. His book *Des Sauvages* is based on this trip.

Champlain's Habitation

Champlain's Habitation was built over the summer of 1608, with much of the work done by skilled carpenters from Honfleur, France. Champlain's ship carried much of what was needed to build the structure, including window casings, tools, and other materials. There were three main buildings a residence, a supply store, and a redoubt for defence. It was protected by a palisade and a two-metre-deep moat. Close by was a garden, where wheat and other crops were grown. Twenty of the settlers perished during the extremely cold winter of 1608-1609.

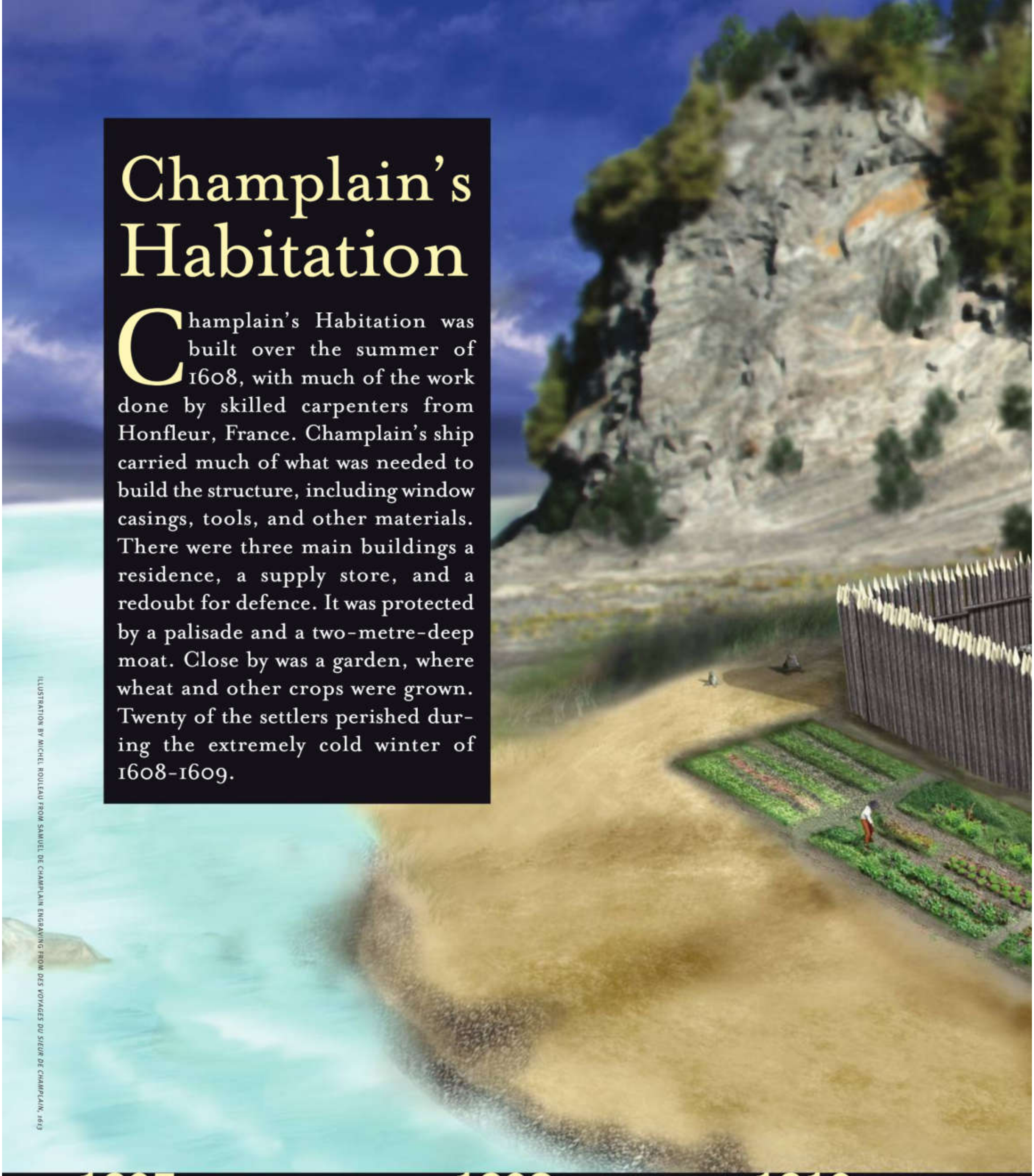


ILLUSTRATION BY MICHEL ROULEAU FROM SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN ENGRAVING FROM *DES VOYAGES DU SIEUR DE CHAMPLAIN*, 1613

1605

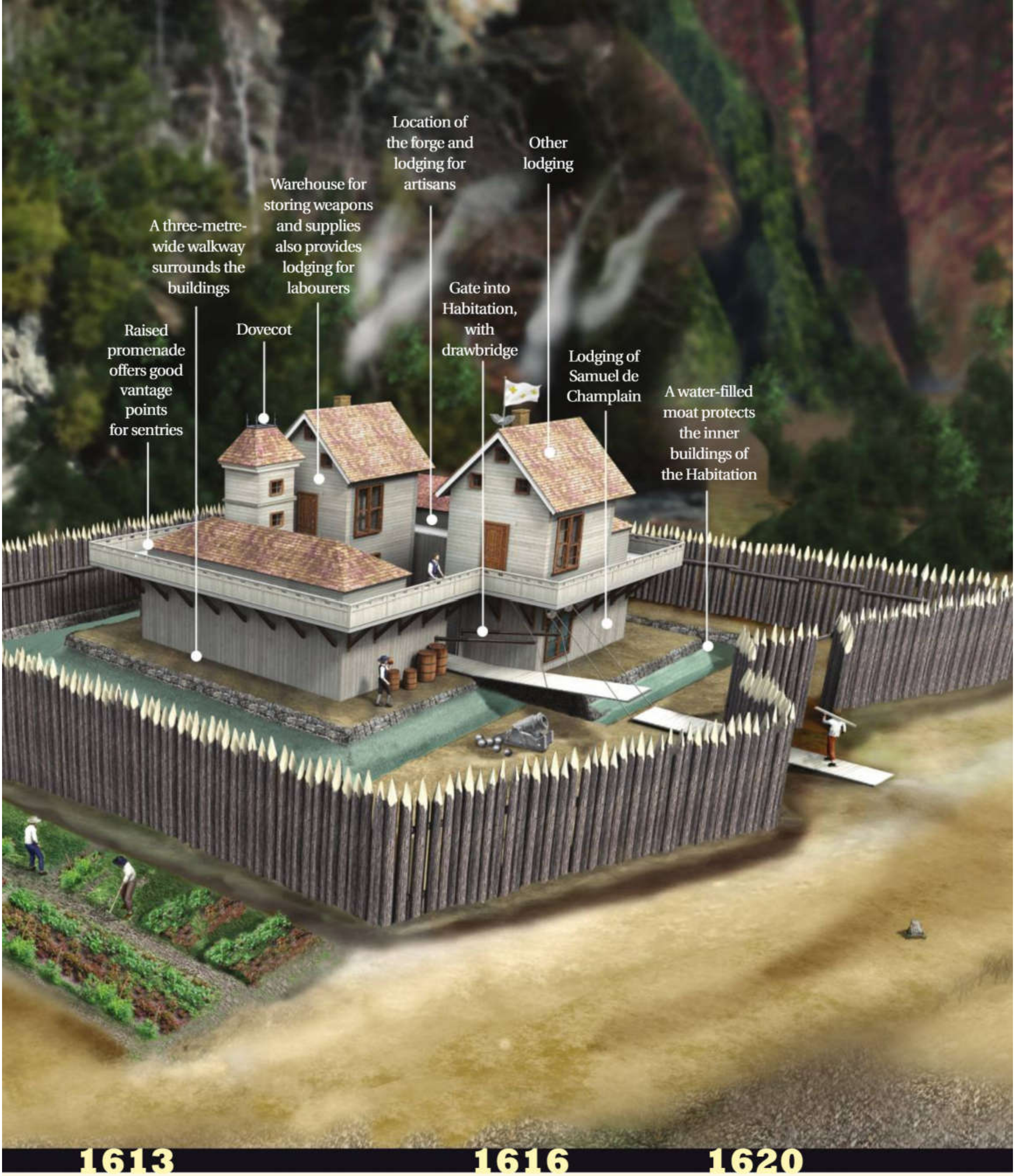
Champlain and Pierre Dugua de Mons found Port Royal in the Bay of Fundy.

1608

Champlain establishes the settlement of "Quebecq." He builds a fortified habitation.

1610

Champlain marries twelve-year-old Hélène Boullé in France.


Location of the forge and lodging for artisans
Other lodging
Warehouse for storing weapons and supplies also provides lodging for labourers
A three-metre-wide walkway surrounds the buildings
Gate into Habitation, with drawbridge
Raised promenade offers good vantage points for sentries
Dovecot
Lodging of Samuel de Champlain
A water-filled moat protects the inner buildings of the Habitation

1613

Champlain creates a map that shows present-day Hudson Bay. He also charts part of the Ottawa River and publishes an account of his travels from 1604 onward.

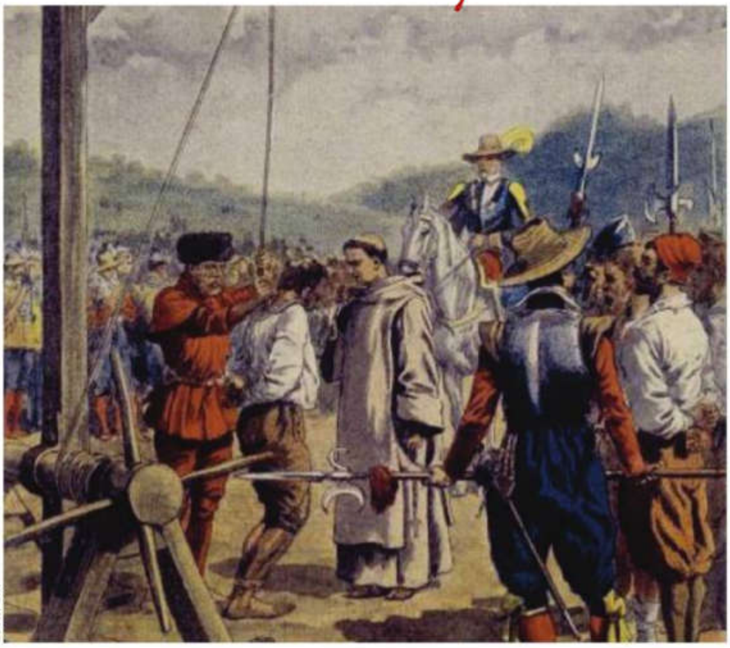
1616

Champlain returns to France. He will make numerous trips between New France and France during his life.

1620

For the first time, Champlain's wife, now 22, accompanies him to New France. She stays in the settlement for four years.

Assassins' plot almost altered history


AKG-IMAGE

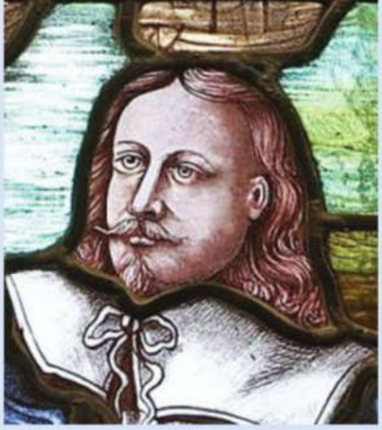
On June 3, 1608, Basque fishermen in Tadoussac hatched a plot to murder Samuel de Champlain. They hoped to prevent, or at least delay, his plan to set up a rival trading post upriver on the St. Lawrence. The Basques recruited some of Champlain's French crew to try to assassinate him.

The Frenchmen sailed upriver, arriving at what would one day be Quebec City on July 3, 1608. Soon afterwards, one of the conspirators had second thoughts and revealed the plan to Captain Testu, who then informed Champlain.

Champlain pardoned the man who warned him and had four conspirators arrested. Jean Duval, the main "traitor," was tried, convicted, and then hanged. Afterwards, his head was stuck on the end of a spike. The other three men were sent to France for trial.

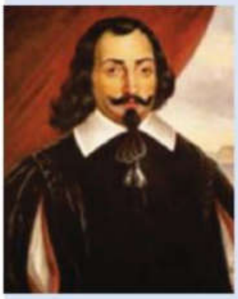
But the question remains: What would have happened had the founder of Quebec City been assassinated?

—**Jacques Lacoursière**

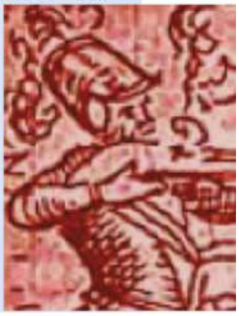


Faking Champlain

No one really knows what Champlain looked like, but artists who never saw him and lived long after his time have made many portraits of him. During Champlain's era, only people in the very highest of royal, clerical, or military circles had their portraits painted.



Even Quebec City's famous statue of Champlain, erected in 1898, isn't really him — it's based on a 1664 portrait of Particelli d'Emery (France's controller of finance), which was deliberately fabricated in 1854 and turned into a "portrait" of the father of New France. Indeed, the closest we've come to seeing the true face of Champlain is an image that he himself made — an engraving of a 1609 battle between the Iroquois and Champlain and his Algonquin allies, which shows him shooting his arquebus at his enemies.



The Astrolabe

The mariner's astrolabe was one of the most common navigational instruments of the seventeenth century. The astrolabe was typically a heavy cast-brass wheel, with its circumference marked out in degrees. It had a sighting pointer, or alidade, on a central pivot.

Some believe an astrolabe found in 1867 on a creek bank in Cobden, Ontario, once belonged to Samuel de Champlain. Others, however, theorize the device actually belonged to Jesuit missionaries.

Now referred to as the "Cobden astrolabe," it's on display at the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

— **Beverley Tallon**

Read "The Mystery of Champlain's Astrolabe" in The Beaver *[December 2004/January 2005].*

1629

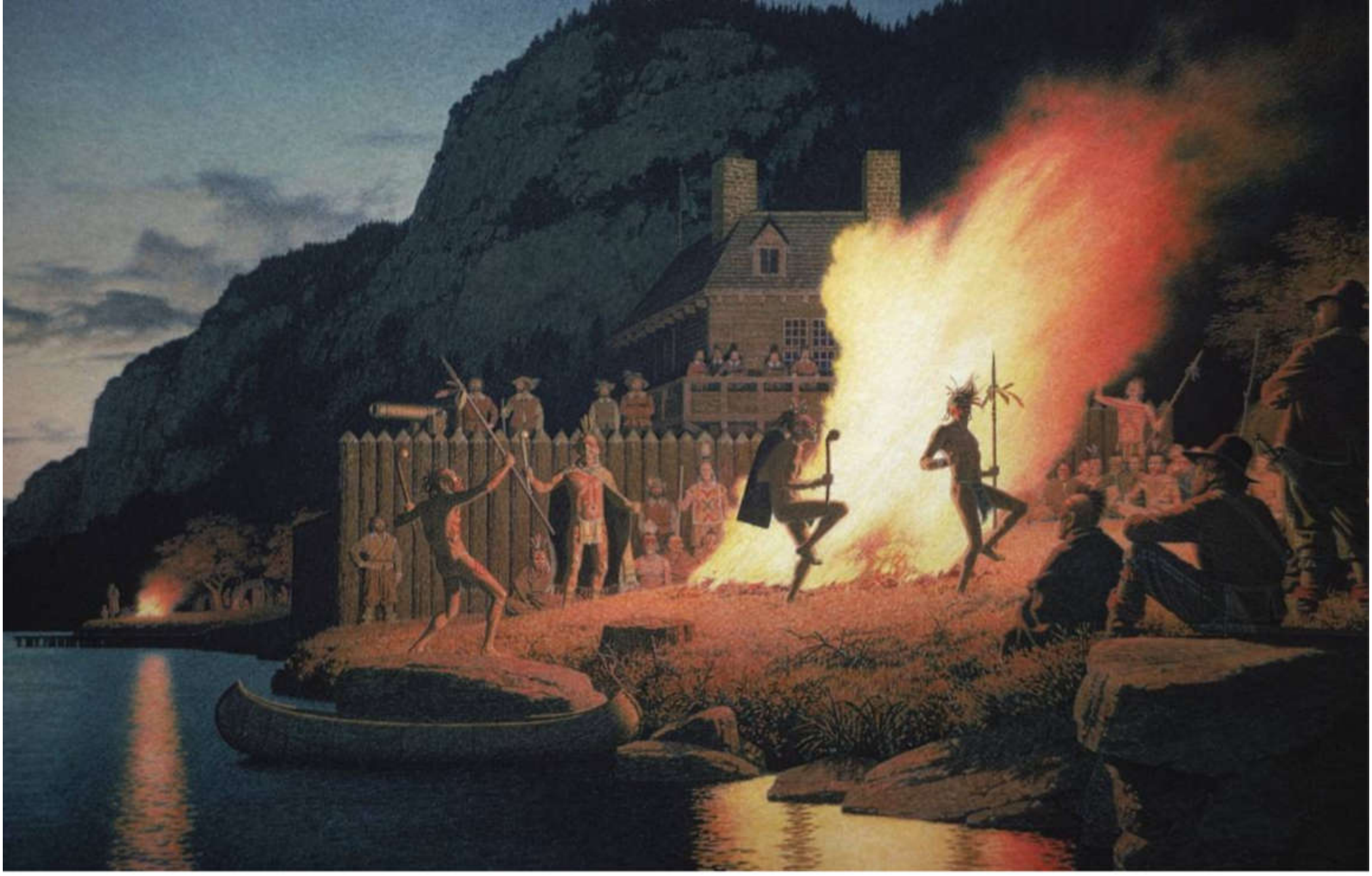
Champlain temporarily loses Quebec to the Kirke brothers after a lengthy siege.

1632

Champlain publishes *Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France Occidentale, dicte Canada*, which contains his most famous map of New France.

1633–35

Champlain returns to Quebec in 1633 and dies two years later, on Christmas Day.



Huron, Montagnais, and Algonquin warriors perform a war dance in 1609 outside Champlain's Quebec habitation, under the looming shadow of Cap Diamant, in this 1978 illustration, *Champlain*, by Jean-Léon Huens.

companions was hurt; the latter died shortly thereafter from his wounds." Surprise turned to panic when another Frenchman who was ambushed nearby opened fire.

The next year (1610), during a brief visit to New France, Champlain once again gave in and marched against the Iroquois. Slightly wounded, he continued with his explorations and returned to France in August with a young Huron named Savignon. The French often brought natives back to France in order to train them as interpreters. Upon his return to France, Champlain learned of the assassination of King Henry IV.

Two years later, he met with bad luck on the way to Paris. Following an accident, he was forced to convalesce for a few weeks. He took advantage of the time to write a progress report; he wrote his memoirs and prepared a magnificent map (1612) with the help of engraver David Pelletier.

He had just finished his masterpiece when he was shown a map drawn by Hessel Gerritsz of the route taken by Henry Hudson north of the continent. This spurred Champlain into action. Without losing a moment, he returned to his drawing board, took elements from his previous map, and, without hesitating, added the information in Gerritsz's *Tabula Nautica.* It was almost an exact copy. The periphery of the continent and the indentations were the same; the islands of the bay were in the same place and had the same rectangular shape. In addition, Champlain wrote "*mare magnum*" where Gerritsz had written "*Mare magnum ab M Hudsono primum inventum.*" At the bottom of the bay, Champlain noted "the bay wher (sic) hudson did winter," wrongly copying "bay where Hudson did winter."

It was at this point that luck seemed to shine on Champlain and his quest to find a quick route to China.

Champlain learned of the arrival in Paris of young Nicolas de Vignau, a French explorer whom Champlain had left with the Algonquins to learn their customs. Amazingly, Vignau was claiming he had reached the northern sea and had even noticed a shipwrecked English vessel.

Champlain was shaken. The account was plausible and he was already excited about Hudson's recent exploit. While Champlain's publisher prepared to publish his next book, the French explorer scrambled back to New France. He insisted that Vignau lead him towards the northern sea — immediately.

Vignau agreed, but Champlain's Algonquin allies refused to help them. They instead accused the young Frenchman of lying.

"You went there in your sleep," said Chief Tessouat of Vignau's supposed journey to the fabled northern sea. "You were dreaming." The native chief was so convincing that Champlain changed his mind and accused Vignau of being "the most brazen liar to be heard in a long time." Champlain was furious. He returned in France in 1613, after an eighteen-day crossing. Once there, he returned to work — completing his draft, adding an approximation of the Outaouais River and writing an account of a "fourth voyage" that was added to his new book (1613).

Ethnographer and administrator

In May 1615, he returned to New France accompanied by Récollect missionaries. Their destination: Huron country. A new military campaign was failing. Champlain's tactical efforts did not suffice and neither did his courage. He sustained quite serious wounds to the knee and leg. Especially embarrassing, he had to be transported "bound and gagged" and "carried for a few days on the back" of a native person. He became impatient and wanted to escape from the prison, "or better said, from that hell."

At the time, the season was changing and Champlain was forced to follow the Huron on their fall hunt. Turning this bad luck into a positive, he switched from explorer to ethnographer. He began recording the "manners, customs and modes of life" of the Huron. In the spring (May 1616), he encountered his good friend Dupont-Gravé at Sault Saint-Louis. They agreed on the importance of fortifying Quebec. Champlain worked on the project over the subsequent weeks. Without realizing it, he had switched roles. He had become an administrator.

Champlain shuttled back and forth between France and New France many times during his life. Between 1617 and 1629, he made four more return trips, the last as a prisoner of the Kirke brothers, privateers working for England. Champlain resisted the Kirkes' attack on Quebec, but after a siege was forced to surrender his beloved colony.

He was the most important person in the history of New France, yet Samuel de Champlain was also the most mysterious.

As soon as he arrived in England, he went to the French ambassador, Monsieur Châteauneuf, and informed him that he had surrendered Quebec (July 19, 1629), two months after the signing of a peace treaty between England and France (April 24, 1629). He was proved right — due to the treaty, the English were obliged to return the conquered territory.

In 1632, Champlain began writing a new, revised version of his travels. He changed some of his previous versions, completed some and enriched others. Titled *Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France Occidentale, dite Canada*, the 1632 book was entrusted with his most famous map — the so-called *Carte de la Nouvelle France, augmentée depuis le derniere, par le Sr de Champlain, 1632.* The following year, he returned to Quebec, this time accompanied by Jesuit missionaries. His health, however, was failing. Father Charles Lalemant, a Jesuit missionary, attended to Champlain in his final days. He died at Quebec on December 25, 1635.

Father of New France

Although there is no doubt he was the most important person in the history of New France, Samuel de Champlain was also the most secretive, mysterious, and enigmatic. In fact, very little is known about his private life. Where had he learned everything he knew? For now, we can only make assumptions.

Meanwhile, in Quebec, the unfortunate Pierre Dugua de Mons is being brought out of the closet. The dedication of his devotees is such that they have declared him founder, or at least co-founder, of Quebec. Notwithstanding the fact that he never actually visited Quebec, they argue that as the holder of the monopoly on the fur trade on the St. Lawrence in 1608, he indeed funded the founding of the colony.

However, it is François Dupont-Gravé who springs immediately to mind if there is ever any question of redressing any omissions made during that period. For thirty years, he worked with Champlain and took him on an exploration of the St. Lawrence and Quebec. It was under the influence of Dupont-Gravé that Champlain convinced Dugua de Mons to relinquish Acadia and focus on re-establishing his monopoly on the St. Lawrence. It was also thanks to Dupont-Gravé that Champlain chose Quebec as the location for the permanent settlement.

One thing is clear — even if he's too strong a personality for some tastes, it is Samuel de Champlain who is responsible for the founding of Quebec in 1608 and for it surviving the 1629 occupation.

Champlain is also responsible for the alliances between the French and the native Indians, without which there would have been no French-speaking America. In this regard, the 1603 meeting in Tadoussac between Chief Anadabijou and Dupont-Gravé and Champlain is as important as the very founding of Quebec in 1608. It marked the fact that the natives and the French were living side by side, it paved the way for cultural exchange and it opened the door for the French to penetrate the North American continent up to the Gulf of Mexico in the south and the Rockies in the west.

Denis Vaugeois is a Quebec historian, editor and publisher who has produced numerous works, including *The Last French and Indian War* (McGill-Queen's, 2002); *Champlain: The Birth of French America* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), *America* (Vehicule Press, 2003) and *America's Gift*, Septentrion, 2007, a collaboration with Kathe Roth (in press).

Et Cetera

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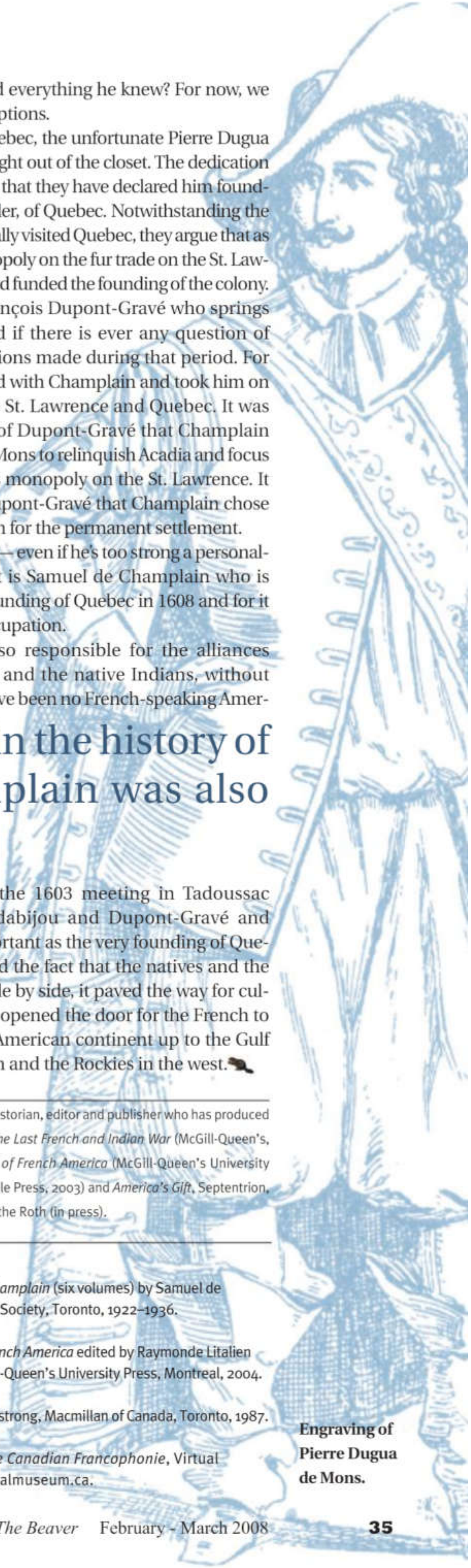


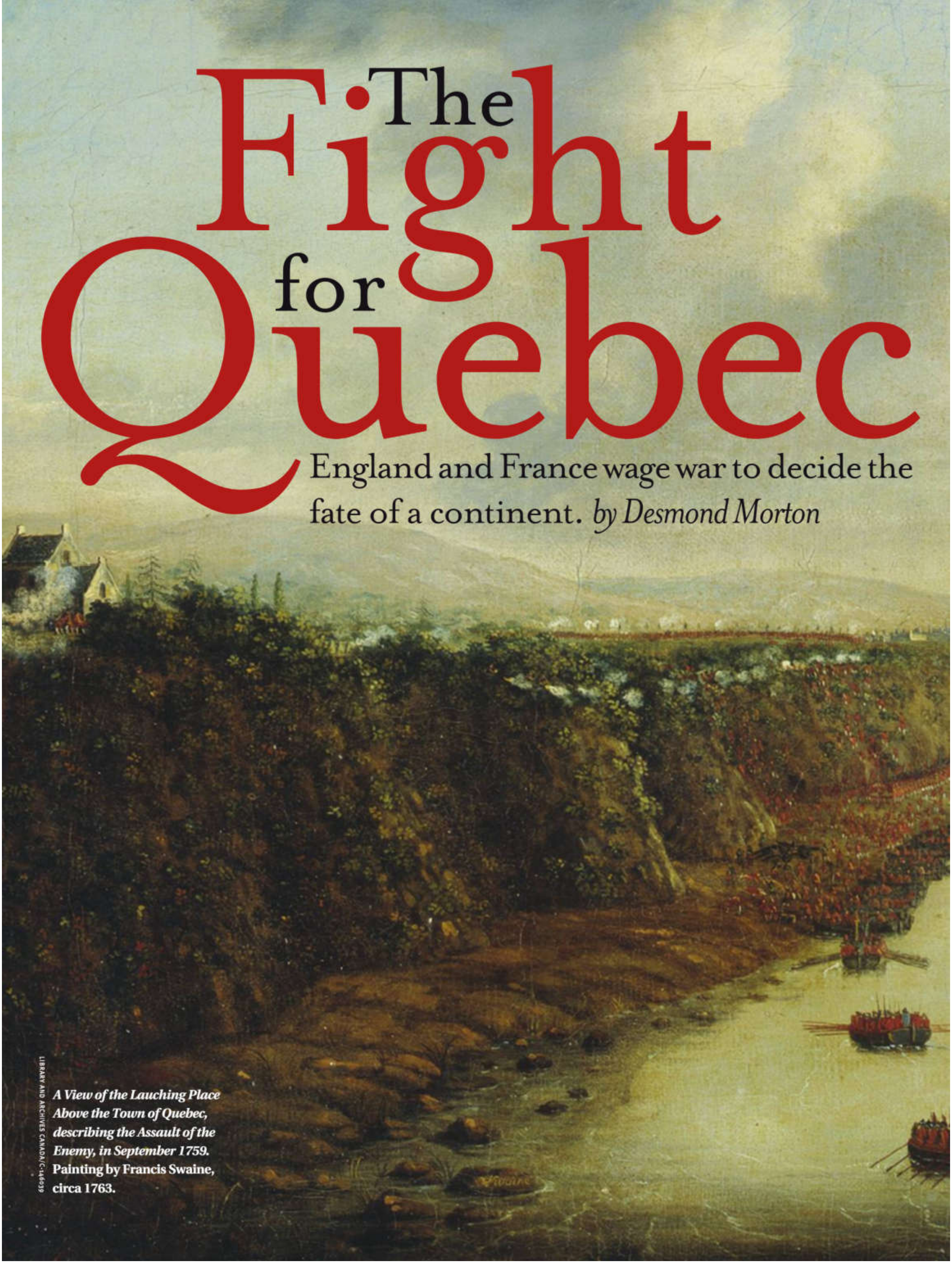
Engraving of Pierre Dugua de Mons.

JEAN-LEON HUENS, CHAMPLAIN, FIRST PUBLISHED IN "GREAT ADVENTURES THAT CHANGED OUR WORLD: THE WORLD'S GREAT EXPLORERS, THEIR TRIUMPHS AND TRAGEDIES", READER'S DIGEST ASSOCIATION, 1978. © SOFAM (BRUSSELS) / SODART (MONTREAL) 2007.

The Fight for Quebec

England and France wage war to decide the fate of a continent.

by Desmond Morton



A View of the Lauching Place Above the Town of Quebec, describing the Assault of the Enemy, in September 1759. **Painting by Francis Swaine, circa 1763.**

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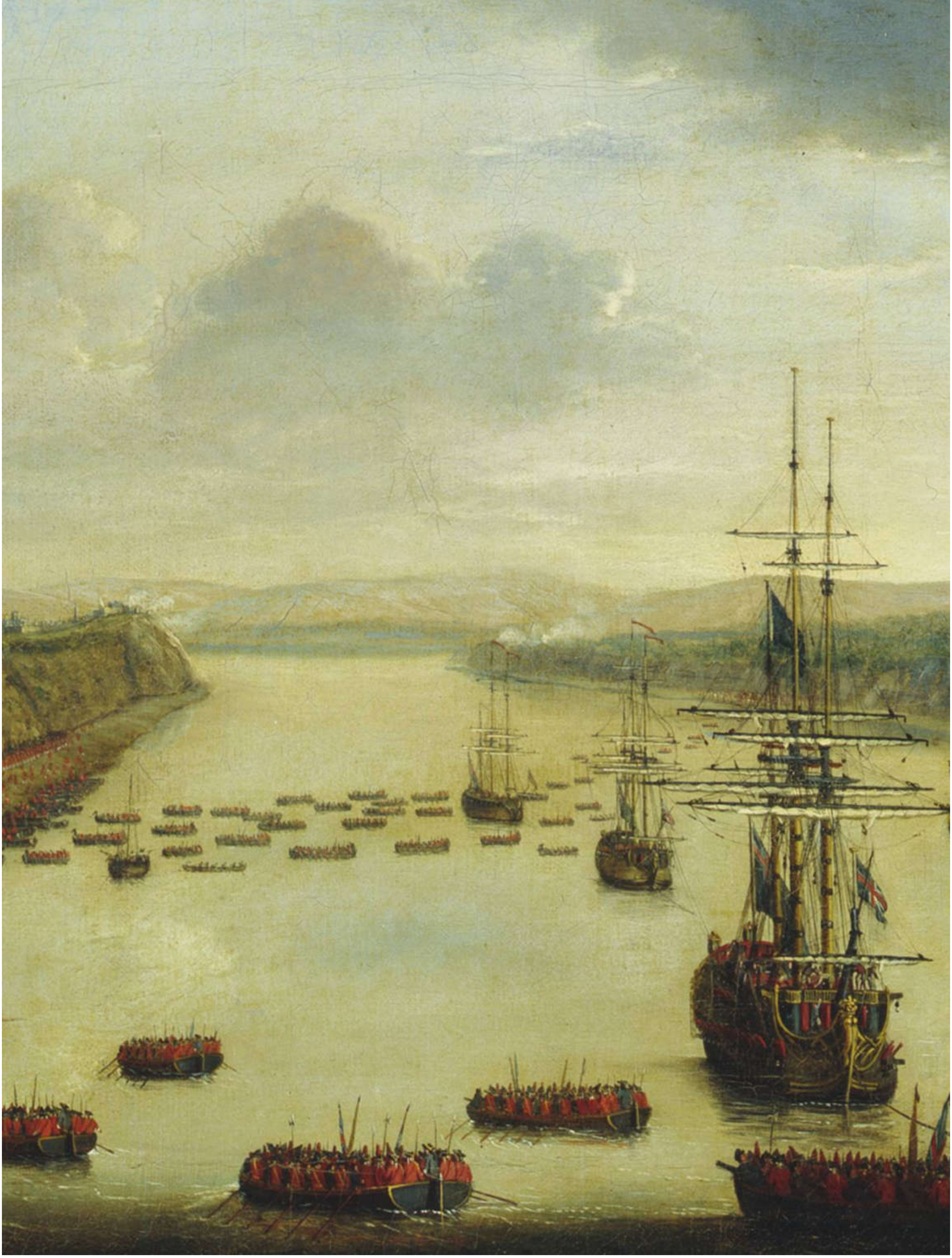
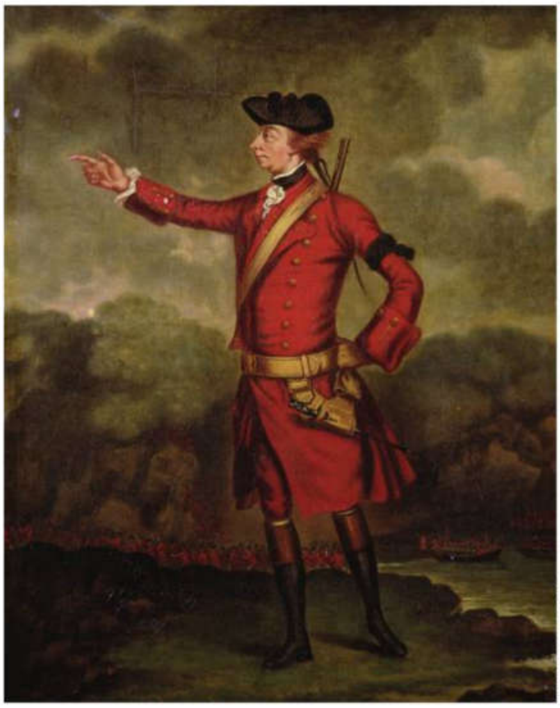


The Seven Years War was turning into a disaster for Britain. Defending King George II's German principality had brought defeat to the British and endless payoffs to greedy allies.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Above: *General James Wolfe*, painting by J.S.C. Schaak, circa 1761–69.

Right: Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, date and painter unknown.

Yet Britain had the world's best navy, while France's navy was as frail as the French army was strong; New France boasted only 70,000 people compared to a million and a half English colonists along the Atlantic seaboard. It was in this context that a new British prime minister, William Pitt, took office in 1756. He had a plan, along with boundless confidence. As he told the king: "I know that I can save the country, and that no one else can." Pitt made a key decision — to restore England's glory by ending New France. To do it, Pitt needed a general who delivered victories, not excuses. He thought he had such a man.

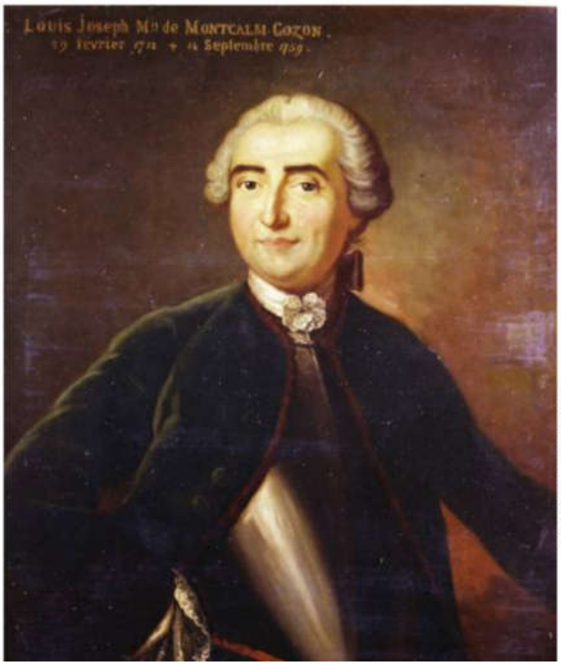
James Wolfe was ugly, red-haired, quarrelsome, and, by age thirty-two, a veteran. An officer at thirteen, he was battle-hardened at sixteen. In 1745, at age eighteen, he had slaughtered Bonnie Prince Charlie's Scottish rebels and ravaged their farms and villages. As a colonel, Wolfe defied authority and the drill book to make the members of his regiment the most efficient shooters in the army. At Louisbourg in 1758, his courage and quick wit turned a disaster into the first of Pitt's overseas victories. Promised twelve thousand soldiers, his choice of brigadiers, and the rank of major-general, Wolfe was Pitt's man to capture Quebec.

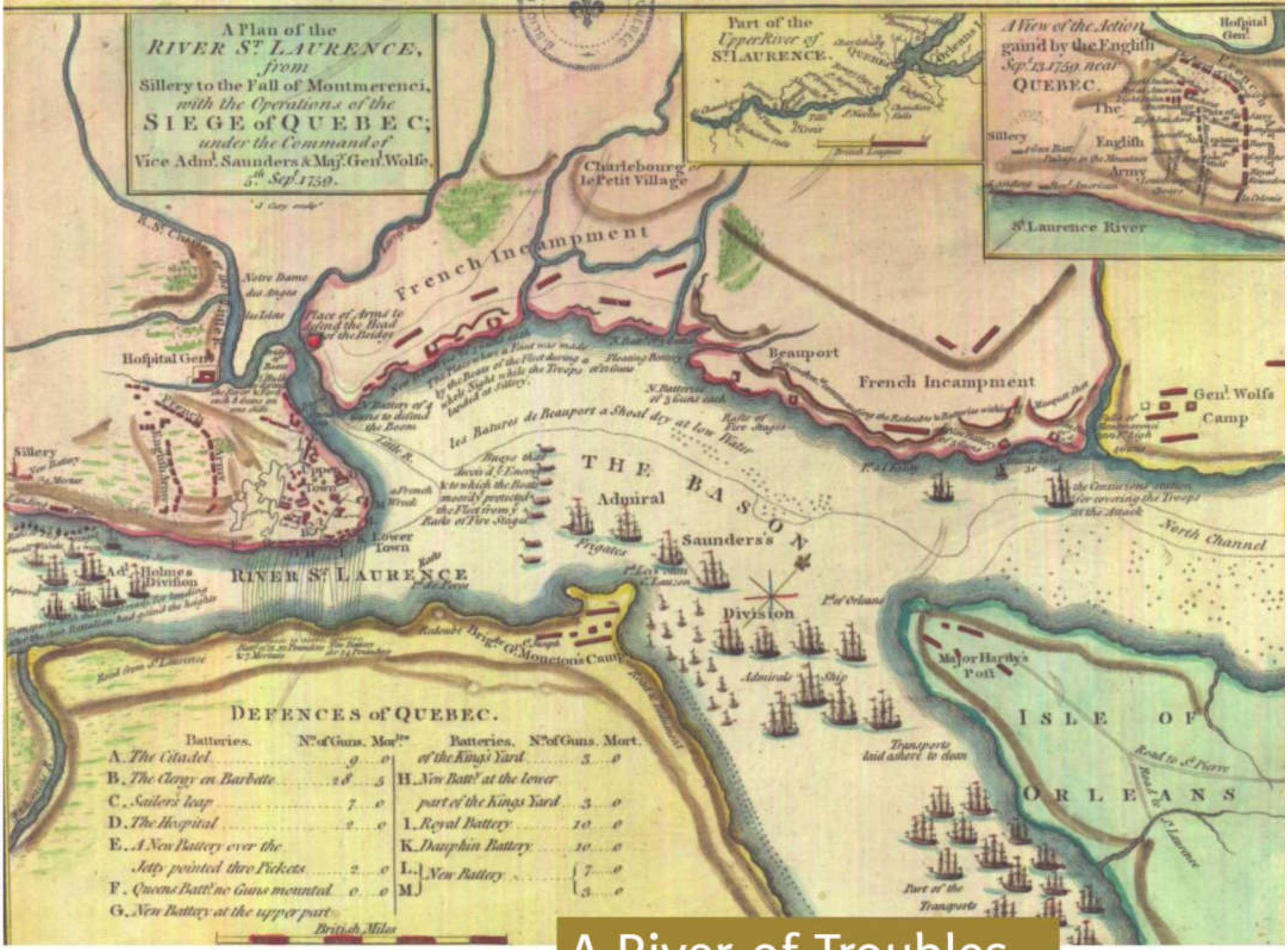
Wolfe's opponent, Louis-Joseph Montcalm-Gozon, Marquis de Montcalm, was oddly similar. An officer at twelve, he survived five wounds and the massacre of his regiment to win promotion, honours, and a new regiment. When Louis XV needed a general to command seven thousand white-coated regulars sent to guard New France, Montcalm and his wife at first refused. At age forty-seven, with decades of soldiering behind him, Montcalm was enjoying a peaceful family life as a nobleman. Montcalm's mother, however, reminded him of his duty, and that his impoverished family needed the money.

Montcalm would be subject to New France's sixty-year-old Canadian-born governor, Pierre de Rigaud, Sieur de Vaudreuil. The two men soon hated each other. As an officer of the colonial regulars, Vaudreuil was no general, but he believed in the sneaky North American style of war — raiding parties, not pitched battles; mobility, not fortifications. Montcalm, for his part, was trained in the classic, European method of warfare — big armies clashing in the open. Montcalm had little time for Canadiens and their way of doing things. "The Canadien concept of war is going on raids that resemble hunting parties," Montcalm complained. The two men were soon busy trying to wreck each other's careers.

A third authority in New France was the king's intendant, the business manager for the colony. In an age when officials were expected to enrich themselves with fees and bribes, François Bigot exceeded all limits. When the war, plus two crop failures, sent prices soaring and spread hunger to soldiers and habitants alike, Bigot got the blame. Neither Vaudreuil nor Montcalm could or would interfere.

Just before Wolfe helped capture the French fortress at Louisbourg in 1758, Montcalm devastated a British


Louis Joseph Mis de Montcalm-Gozon.
29 fevrier 712 + 14 Septembre 759.
COURTESY OF FORT TICONDEROGA


A Plan of the RIVER St. LAURENCE, from Sillery to the Fall of Montmerenci, with the Operations of the SIEGE of QUEBEC; under the Command of Vice Adml. Saunders & Majr. Genl. Wolfe, 5th Sepr. 1759.
Part of the Upper River of St. LAURENCE
A View of the Action gain'd by the English Sepr. 13 1759 near QUEBEC.
St. Laurence River
Charlebourg or le Petit Village
French Incampment
Beauport
French Incampment
Genl. Wolfs Camp
Hospital Genl.
Sillery
THE BASON
Admiral Saunders's Division
Lower Town
RIVER St. LAURENCE
Holmes Division
Monckton's Camp
Major Hardy's Post
North Channel
ISLE OF ORLEANS
DEFENCES of QUEBEC.
Batteries. No. of Guns. Morrs.
A. The Citadel 9 0
B. The Clergy en Barbette 28 5
C. Sailors' leap 7 0
D. The Hospital 2 0
E. A New Battery over the Jetty pointed thro Pickets 2 0
F. Queens Batt. no Guns mounted 0 0
G. New Battery at the upper part of the Kings Yard 3 0
H. New Batty. at the lower part of the Kings Yard 3 0
I. Royal Battery 10 0
K. Dauphin Battery 10 0
L. M. New Battery 7 0 3 0
British Miles

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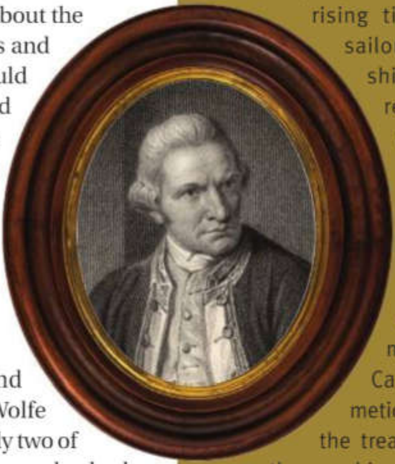
column at Fort Carillon (or Ticonderoga, as it was known to the British) at the south end of Lake Champlain. That winter he sent an aide, Louis-Antoine, Comte de Bougainville, to France to seek reinforcements. France's response was summed up by an influential courtier: "When the house is on fire, who worries about the stable?" Embattled by European enemies and former allies, France needed all it could muster to save itself. Bougainville returned with supplies, two hundred recruits for the king's army, and an obscure official sent to investigate Bigot's corruption. France also gave Montcalm medals and command of New France's defences as rewards for his victory at Carillon. A bitter Vaudreuil hid his reduced status.

On the British side, Pitt could find Wolfe only 7,600 soldiers. And Wolfe ended up being able to choose only two of his three brigadiers — Robert Monckton, who had played a key role in the expulsion of the Acadians, and fiery Scotsman James Murray. Political influence won a spot for George Townshend, the son of a former prime minister. For his part, Wolfe found three hundred American Rangers — irregular soldiers in greasy buckskins trained in native-style warfare — and five hundred light



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A River of Troubles

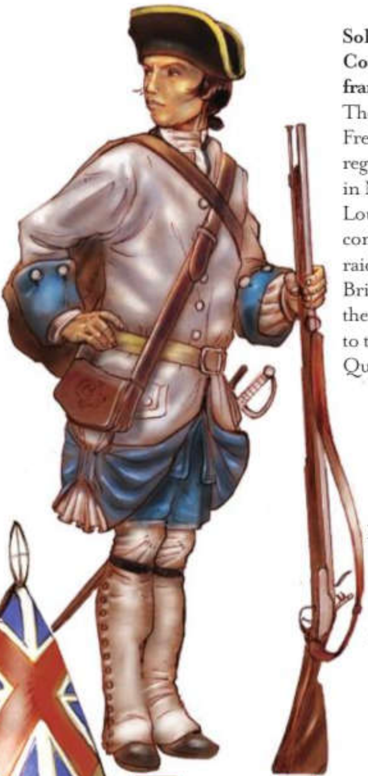
The St. Lawrence River had long been a navigator's nightmare. It was known and feared for its rocks, reefs, sandbars, heavy fogs, treacherous currents, and fast-rising tides. More than 900 British sailors drowned in 1711 when ten ships shattered on dangerous reefs and shoals surrounding the notorious Île aux Oeufs on the North Shore.

In 1759, the French believed they had little to fear from England's invading flotilla — for the French had removed the buoys that marked the river's hazards. But Captain James Cook and crew meticulously charted and re-buoyed the treacherous waters in advance of the warships, working in the dark of night to avoid French cannon fire. The fleet passed through without a single loss, causing a horrified Marquis de Vaudreuil to write: "The enemy has passed sixty ships of war where we hardly dared risk a vessel of a hundred tons."

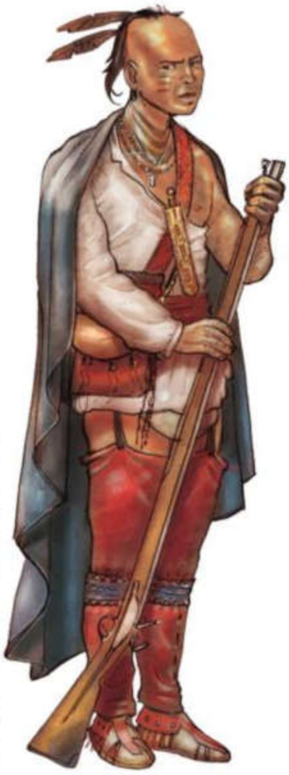
Above:
An authentic plan of the St. Lawrence from Sillery to Monmorency Falls, showing locations of British naval ships during the siege of Quebec. By John Cary, 1780.

Left:
***Captain James Cook*, engraved by W. Holl. Published circa 1820.**

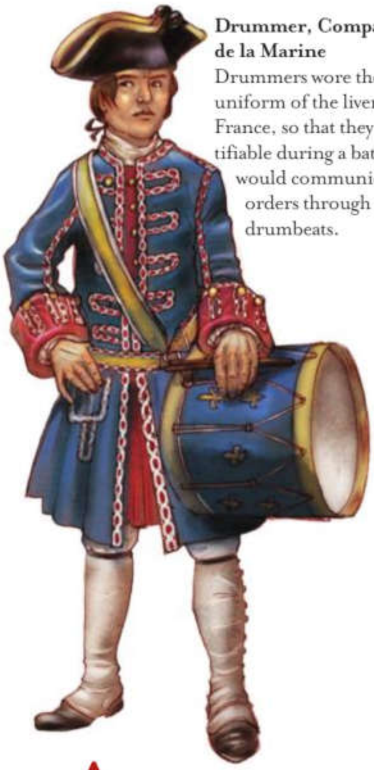
Men of Arms



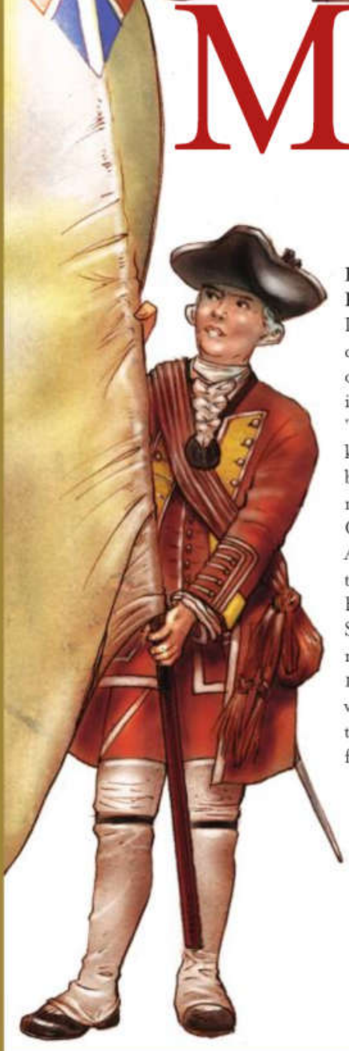
Soldier, Compagnies franches de la Marine
These were French colonial regulars who served in New France and Louisbourg and conducted military raids against the British Colonies in the years leading up to the siege of Quebec.



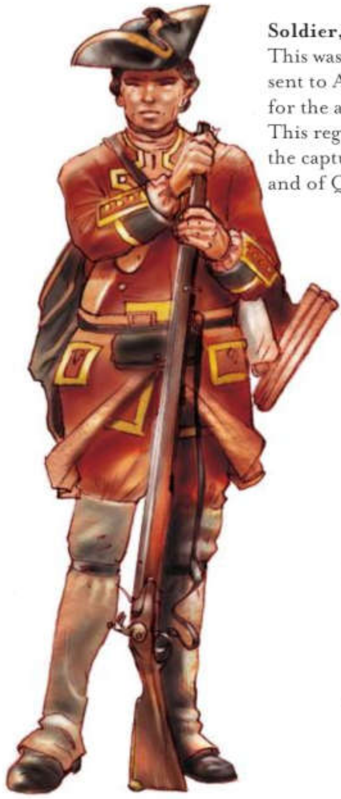
First Nation warrior
The French had good relations with First Nations such as the Algonquin, Huron, and Montagnais. About 1,700 fought on the French side at the Plains of Abraham. They were armed with muskets or rifles, as well as traditional weapons.



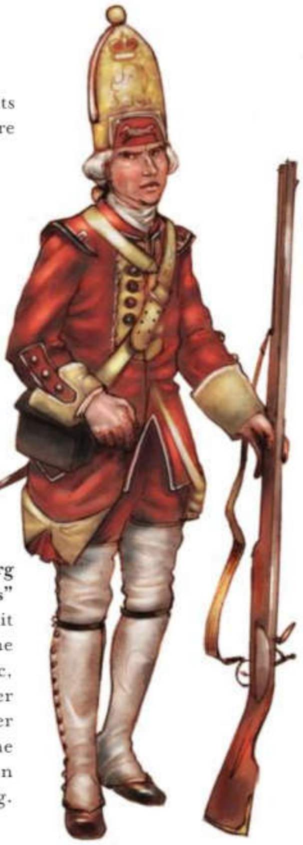
Drummer, Compagnies franches de la Marine
Drummers wore the distinctive uniform of the livery of the king of France, so that they were easily identifiable during a battle. Drummers would communicate officers' orders through distinctive drumbeats.



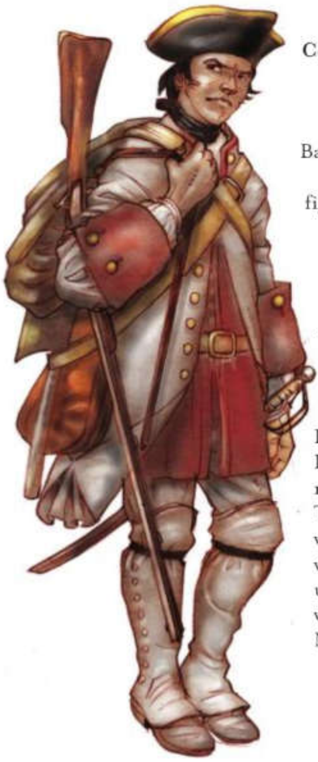
Ensign, 15th Regiment of Foot
In the eighteenth century, regiments of the British infantry had two "colours." The king's colour was blue with white and red crosses of St. George and St. Andrew. (This was the union flag of England and Scotland.) The regimental colour of the 15th Foot was yellow with a small depiction of the union flag in one corner.

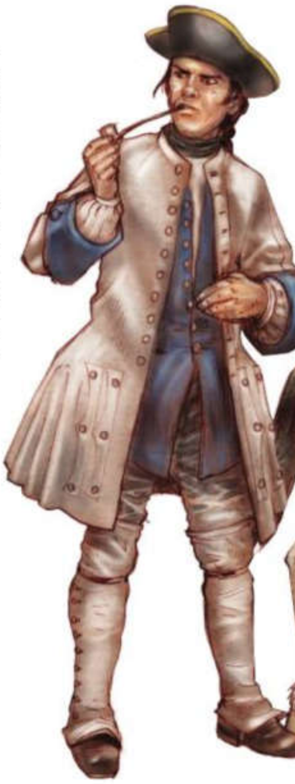


Soldier, 58th Regiment of Foot
This was one of many British units sent to America in 1757 to prepare for the attack on Louisbourg. This regiment took part in both the capture of Louisbourg and of Quebec.



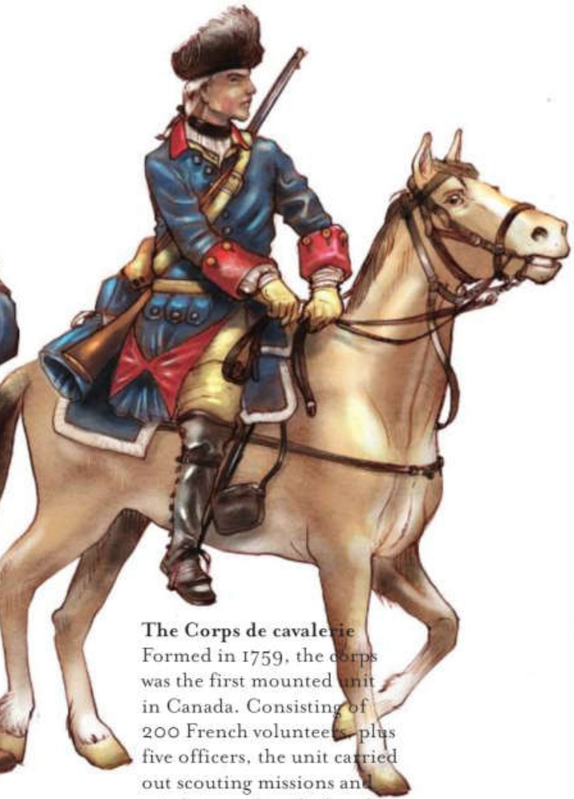
The "Louisbourg Grenadiers"
This was a temporary unit created in 1759 for the expedition to Quebec, consisting of grenadier companies of three other regiments that formed the British garrison of Louisbourg.





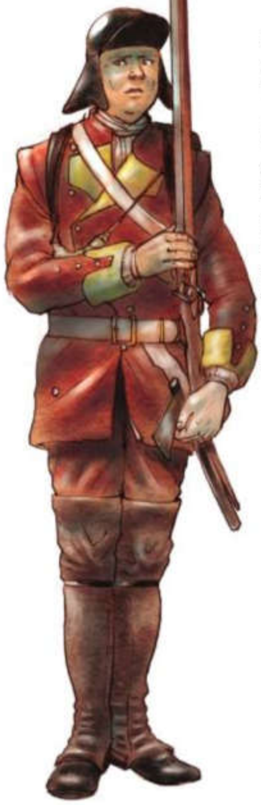
Right: Corporal, Bearn regiment
This regiment arrived in New France in 1755 and played a major role in the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. During the fateful fight, the Bearn formed the centre of Montcalm's French troops. They also took part in the Battle of Ste. Foy — the French attempt to retake Quebec.

Left: Grenadier, French Guyenne regiment
This Grenadier wears the Canadian version of the regiment's uniform. The regiment was sent in 1755 to protect New France.

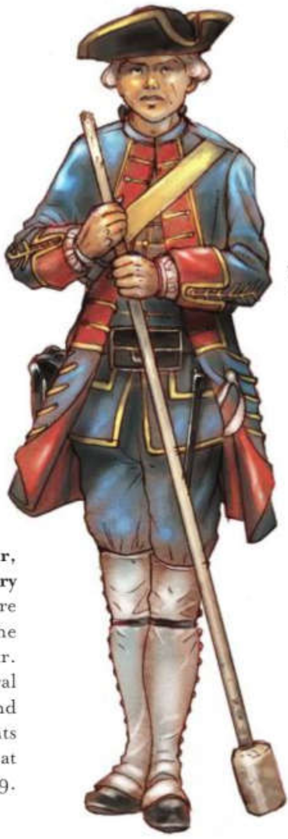


The Corps de cavalerie
Formed in 1759, the corps was the first mounted unit in Canada. Consisting of 200 French volunteers plus five officers, the unit carried out scouting missions and acted as couriers during the final fight for New France.

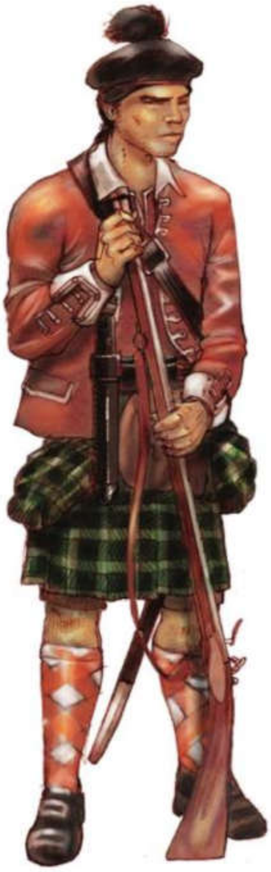
In an age before camouflage, soldiers proudly displayed their colours on the battlefields of New France.



Left: Light infantry, 48th Regiment of Foot
This regiment was trained to fight in the forests of North America. By 1759, uniforms had been altered to adapt to the climate and conditions: hats were replaced by warm caps, and coats were shortened. The regiment fought in both Louisbourg and Quebec.



Gunner, Royal Artillery
This regiment wore blue, which was the British royal colour. There were three Royal Artillery companies and additional detachments in Wolfe's army at Quebec in 1759.

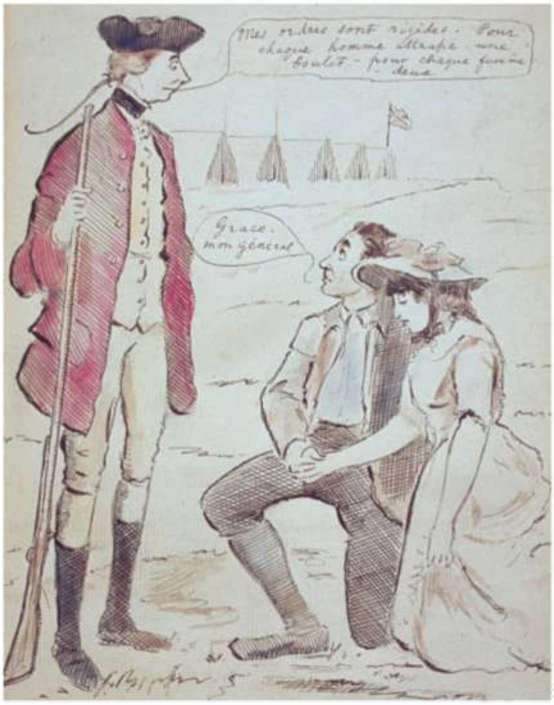


Highlander of the British 78th
The Highlanders fought under Wolfe in the battle of the Plains of Abraham. They were among England's fiercest troops, even though 14 years earlier they had fought against the British Crown.

JEAN-PAUL EID

infantry at Halifax. At Louisbourg, he added three hundred grenadiers. More essential was Admiral Charles Saunders' fleet of forty-nine warships, a quarter of the Royal Navy, plus 119 transports. Winds delayed the voyage.

Vaudreuil reckoned that the treacherous lower St. Lawrence would wreck the British fleet. But he reckoned without competent seamanship. James Cook, the future Pacific explorer, organized a dozen small boats to measure depths and produced the chart the French had never created. On June 26, Saunders disembarked Wolfe's army on Île d'Orléans — a large island in the St. Lawrence just east of Quebec. As Wolfe's soldiers gratefully stretched their legs and built a camp, a violent summer storm turned the sky black, set the river raging, smashed anchor cables, and sent ships plunging at each other. Only consummate seamanship stood in the way of serious damage.


Mes ordres sont rigides. Pour chaque homme attrapé une boulet – pour chaque femme deux
Grace. mon général

During the military operations in Quebec, George Townshend, General Wolfe's unwanted brigadier, drew this cartoon of civilians begging for mercy from Wolfe.

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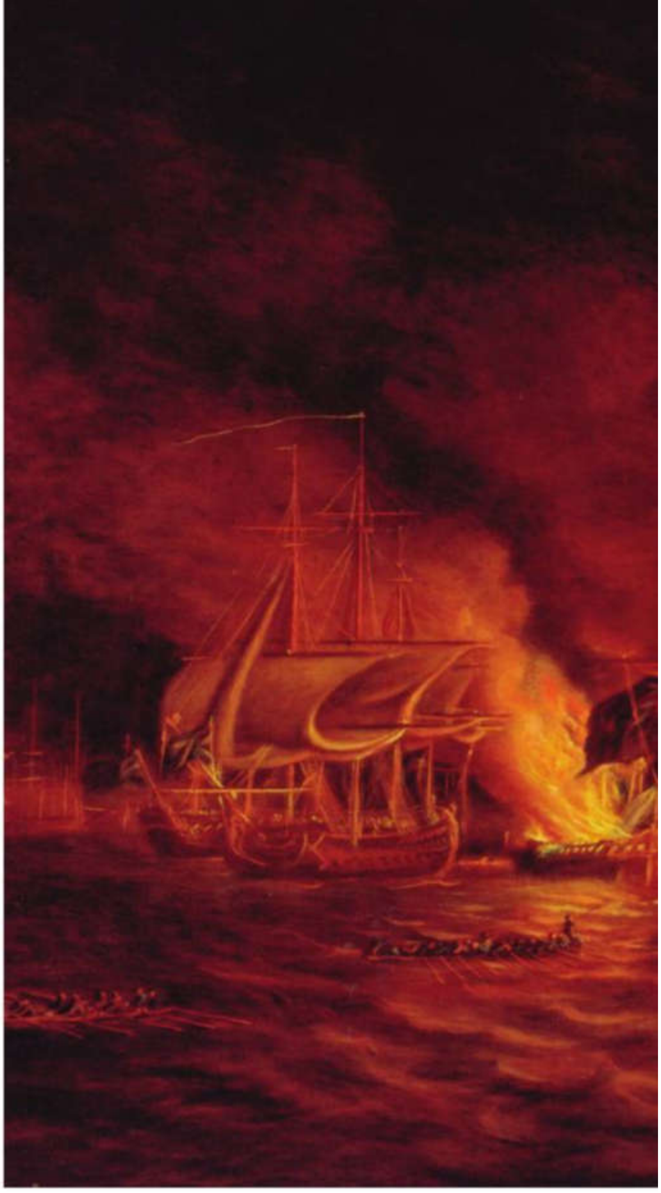


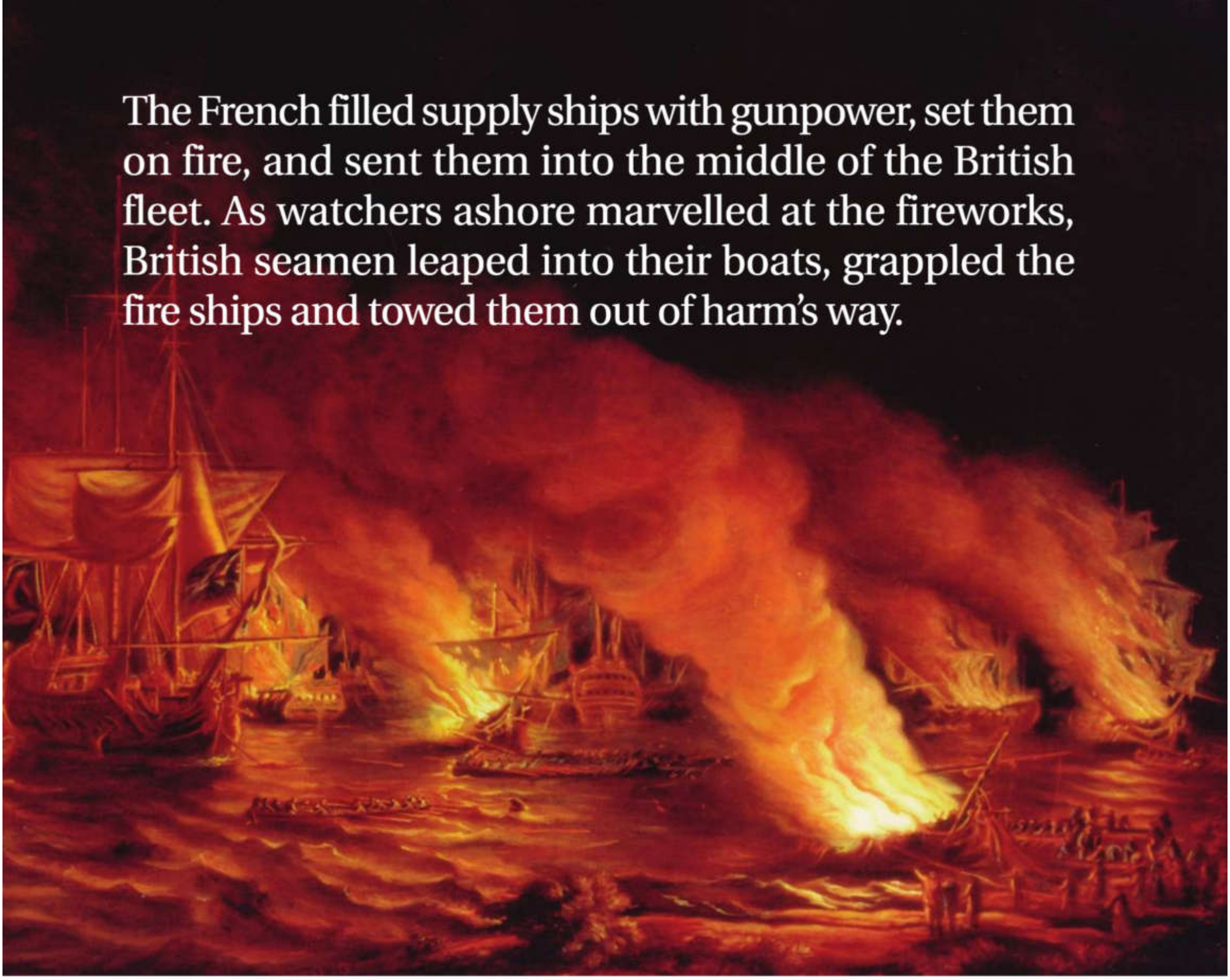
Montcalm had pleaded with Vaudreuil to contest the river passage by mounting guns at Cap Tourmente, about fifty kilometres east of Quebec. But Vaudreuil thought he knew better. Bigot sold some supply ships to the king, filled them with gunpowder, and, on the night of June 28, sent them to burn Saunders' wooden ships. As watchers ashore marvelled at the fireworks, Saunders' seamen leaped into their boats, grappled the fire ships, and towed them out of harm's way. A month later, a huge fire raft met the same fate. The British did not lose a single ship.

Wolfe learned about Quebec's defences from British officers held captive earlier in the war. Money spent to fortify Quebec's landward side had been wasted. West of Quebec, eighty-metre cliffs formed a barrier, and they resumed on the north shore, where the Montmorency Falls leaped a sixty-metre height of land. As previous attackers had recognized, invaders had to land on the shallow Beauport shore, fight across the St. Charles River, and attack Quebec's feeble land defences. And, Wolfe believed, the sooner the better, even if the victory came at great cost. As Wolfe had written in a letter a few years earlier: "In particular circumstances and times, the loss of a thousand men is rather an advantage to a nation than otherwise, seeing that gallant attempts raise its reputation and make it respectable."

When he actually inspected Quebec, Wolfe's heart sank. Montcalm had anticipated him. Through May and June, thousands of militiamen had built batteries and earthworks to pulverize invaders approaching the shore. Masses of tents and earthworks showed where the French were waiting. Wolfe's plan would have been suicidal for his soldiers, his career, and probably himself.

Desperate to do something, Wolfe sent Monckton to capture Pointe-Lévy, opposite Quebec, and build a battery. Montcalm would have defended it but Vaudreuil's favourite engineer assured him that no known gun could

The French filled supply ships with gunpower, set them on fire, and sent them into the middle of the British fleet. As watchers ashore marvelled at the fireworks, British seamen leaped into their boats, grappled the fire ships and towed them out of harm's way.



***The Defeat of the French Fireraft Attack on the British Fleet anchored before Quebec, 28 July 1759*. Painting by Dominic Serres, circa 1900.**

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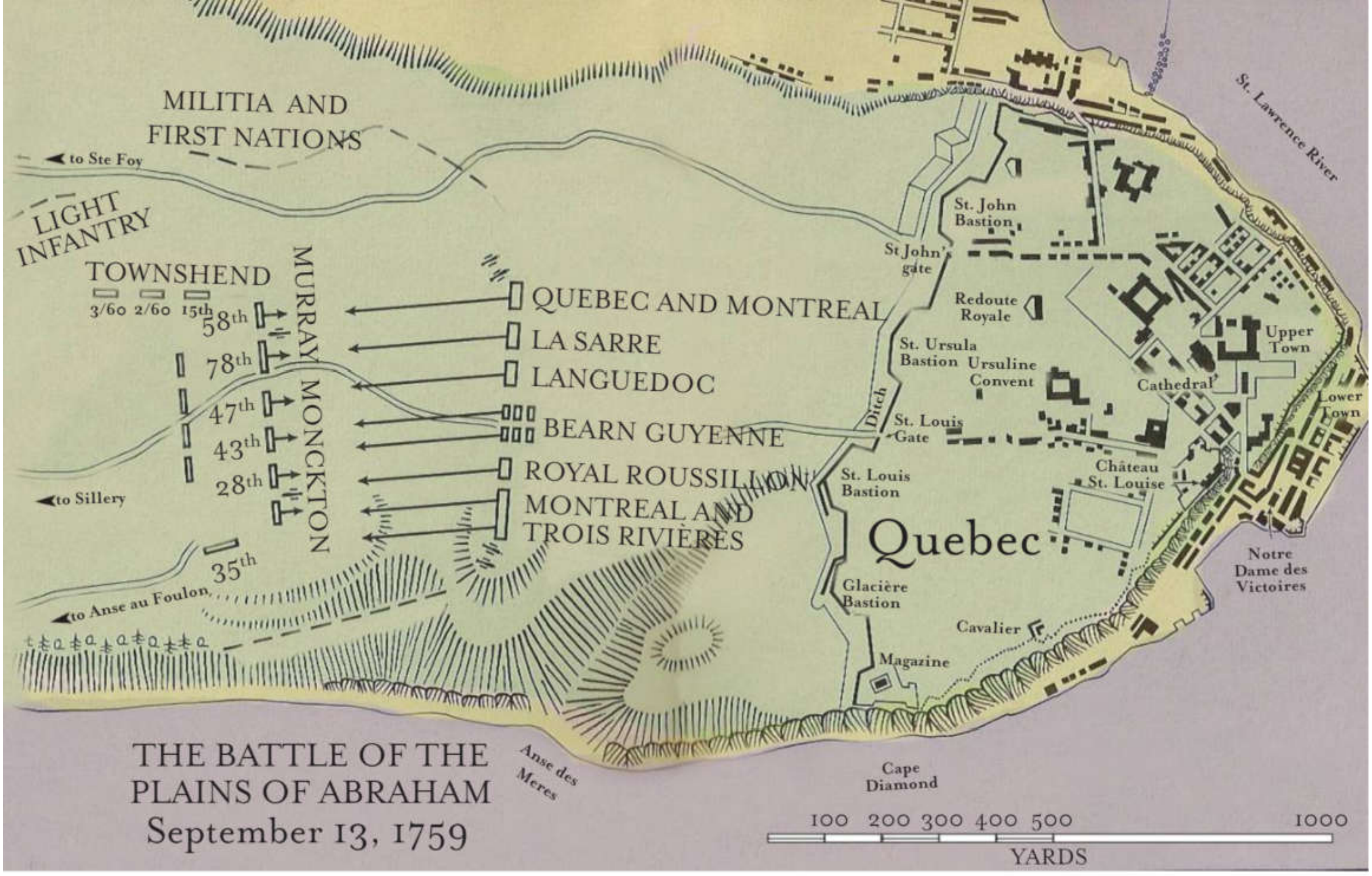
throw a shell across the river into Quebec. On the morning of July 12, when the first British shell fell in the river, gunners heard the jeers. But the next shell crashed into the Upper Town. The bombardment continued for the next two months, with the British firing more than 40,000 cannonballs and 10,000 firebombs on the town. Few buildings were left standing. Even Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, a little church built to celebrate previous failed sieges, was razed. Terrified citizens fled the city, seeking safety in the countryside.

Wolfe had promised civilians that he would protect their lives, property, and religion if they kept the peace. "Britain stretches out her powerful yet merciful hand. Let the wisdom of the people of Canada show itself," he declared in a proclamation issued June 28. But the Canadiens did not keep the peace. They had their quarrels with the French, but they were not neutral in a battle for their homeland. Militiamen, habitants, and natives killed British soldiers when they could. A ranger on the Île d'Orléans was found dead with a stake through his heart. Gunners at Pointe-Lévy learned that a tomahawk thrown by expert hands was a silent killer. Wolfe soon posted a new proclamation, warning of ruthless consequences. All through the summer, rangers and light infantry rowed up and down the river, burning villages and farms. Only churches were ordered spared. Montcalm's militiamen were left to wonder at the fate of their families. "M. Wolfe est cruel," wrote Bigot.

Civilians captured in raids were landed at the Anse au Foulon, a tiny cove west of Quebec. Wolfe watched as old men, women, and children scrambled up a steep path to a French guard post. But when Vaudreuil boasted that the prisoners were liberated because the British were starving, Wolfe angrily cancelled further releases.

None of this captured Quebec. Two thousand of Wolfe's elite soldiers were now sick or dying from summer heat, rain, and foul sanitation. The British suffered about a thousand dead, wounded, or missing soldiers on July 31, when France's native allies slaughtered a force hunting for a ford across the Montmorency River east of Quebec, and during a landing on the Beauport shore a few days later. Wolfe's efforts to improve sanitation provoked his unwanted brigadier, George Townshend, to draw a cartoon of the long-nosed, ungentlemanly general poking his spyglass


MILITIA AND FIRST NATIONS
to Ste Foy
LIGHT INFANTRY
TOWNSHEND
3/60 2/60 15th
58th
78th
47th
43rd
28th
35th
MURRAY
MONCKTON
to Sillery
to Anse au Foulon
QUEBEC AND MONTREAL
LA SARRE
LANGUEDOC
BEARN GUYENNE
ROYAL ROUSSILLON
MONTREAL AND TROIS RIVIÈRES
St. John Bastion
St John's gate
Redoute Royale
St. Ursula Bastion
Ursuline Convent
Ditch
St. Louis Gate
St. Louis Bastion
Quebec
Glacière Bastion
Cavalier
Magazine
Cape Diamond
Anse des Meres
Château St. Louise
Cathedral
Upper Town
Lower Town
Notre Dame des Victoires
St. Lawrence River
THE BATTLE OF THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM
September 13, 1759
100 200 300 400 500 1000
YARDS

They waited until the French were about forty paces away. Then, with apparent calm, the British raised their weapons and fired. Using Wolfe's drill, as one line reloaded, another line stepped forward from the smoke.

into soldier's toilets. By then, Wolfe was sick too, with symptoms of scurvy added to his chronically upset stomach. When he took to his bed in August, soldiers believed he was dying. Some of his officers hoped it was true, for while Wolfe was well-regarded by the rank and file, those closer to the top chafed at his leadership. When August turned into September, cold nights and reports of ice in the gulf led Admiral Charles Saunders to warn Wolfe that his fleet must leave by the end of the month or be trapped in St. Lawrence ice.

It appeared that Wolfe's mission of conquering New France was about to fail!

Wolfe was despondent. He blamed Saunders, his soldiers, and his brigadiers. Above all, he condemned himself. His last dispatch to William Pitt, written four days before Wolfe fell on the field of battle, illustrated his bleak state of mind: "My constitution is entirely shattered without the consolation of having done any significant service to the state and without any prospect of it." In his journal, Wolfe wrote of "my plan of quitting the service, which I am determined to do, the first opportunity."

On the French side, Montcalm's militia, worried about the fate of their families in the countryside, began to desert, even though the penalty for doing so was death by hanging. Montcalm and the main French army remained at the Beauport shore, just east of Quebec, where the main battle was still expected. But when Admiral Saunders sneaked part of his fleet upriver, past Quebec, Montcalm sent Bougainville and a strong force to Cap Rouge, about eleven kilometres west of Quebec, to protect his rear and the route from Montreal. Another thousand left under his second-in-command, Brig.-Gen. François-Gaston, Duc de Lévis, to stop the British advance on Montreal. Meanwhile, Brig.-Gen. James Murray and his two thousand troops raided French supplies as far south as Deschambault, about sixty kilometres upstream from Quebec.

On August 31, Wolfe got up from his sickbed to meet with his brigadiers and present his plans for a fresh assault on the Beauport shore. They rejected his idea. He returned to bed. They kept talking. Why not reunite the troops and set them ashore at Les Ecureuils, about forty kilometres upstream from Quebec? Wolfe agreed but changed the landing place to Pointe-aux-Trembles, which was a little closer to Quebec than Les Ecureuils, but still about a thirty-kilometre march away.

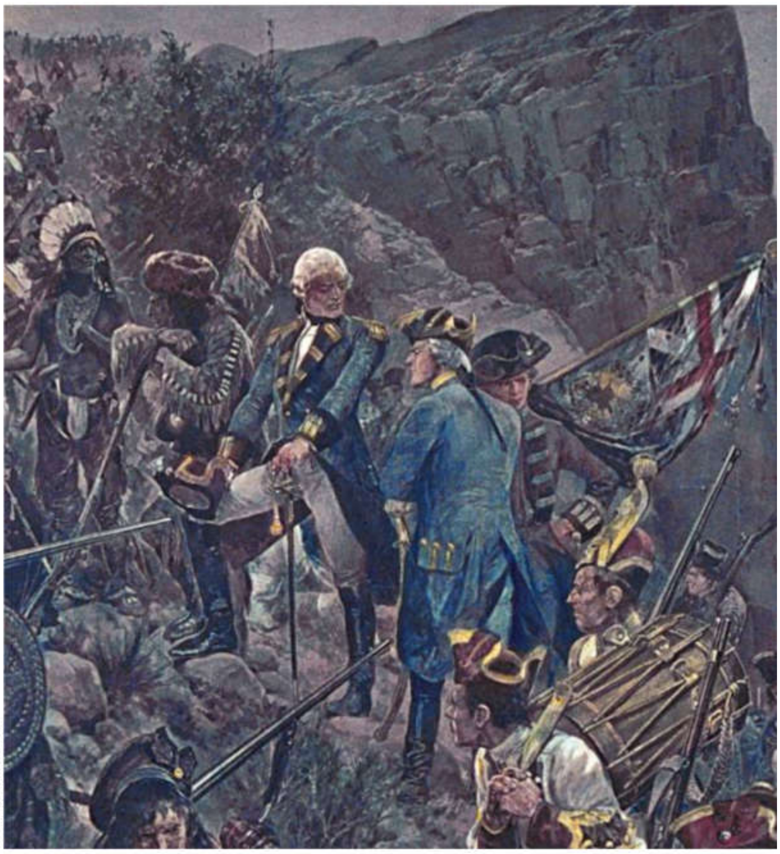
On September 2, the British abandoned their camp at Montmorency. Vaudreuil rejoiced; Montcalm worried. He remained concentrated on Beauport, but what if the British landed upriver? Bougainville got more troops.

Wolfe collected his striking force, which was reduced to thirty-five hundred from the eighty-five hundred who had landed in June, and headed for Pointe-aux-Trembles. Then the weather broke. Rain bucketed down, the mud road from Pointe-aux-Trembles dissolved, and Wolfe cancelled the move. Sodden soldiers returned to their tents.

Wolfe was now desperate. His memory of civilians climbing from the little cove at Anse au Foulon, just a little upriver from the French citadel, came to mind. Though it seemed too crazy to share with his resentful brigadiers, suddenly Wolfe had a plan. He would land his army right on the doorstep of Quebec, at Anse au Foulon, where they would climb the steep path to the top of the heights and assemble on the Plains of Abraham to finally force Montcalm's forces into open battle.

On September 11, the navy quietly carried Wolfe's striking force upriver. At dusk on the 12th, soldiers transferred to boats and two small schooners. Saunders' seamen rowed them silently back toward Quebec. At Sillery, a little upstream from Quebec, a French sentry challenged the flotilla; a quick-witted Scottish officer answered in French. When another sentry shouted, the officer told him to shut up: "You'll give us away to the English." An unexpected current shoved the first boats past their destination of Anse au Foulon, but they turned toward shore. Quick-witted in a crisis, Wolfe jumped ashore and sent the light infantry along the beach to the foot of the path. The French guard post at the top was silent. Its commander, a friend of Bigot, had let many of his men go home to harvest their crops. The struggle with the French sentries lasted only a few seconds. One escaping sentry raced across the fields to sound the alarm. Vaudreuil, who was headquartered just east of the citadel, near the St. Charles River, was the first to learn of the British arrival. He refused to believe it. So did Montcalm, who received the news at Beauport, which was about three kilometres downstream from Vaudreuil's camp. He raced to meet the governor, then climbed a height of land to see for himself as British redcoats poured onto the Plains of Abraham.

All summer Montcalm had resisted Wolfe with cool brilliance. Did he now panic to see Wolfe's thin red line, visible through the September mist? He called for reinforcements upstream from Cap Rouge, but messengers to Bougainville did not return. James Johnstone, Montcalm's Scottish aide, went to summon the army from Beauport, the landing just east of Quebec where the main attack had been expected. But the veteran colonels there were watching Saunders' battleships manoeuvre toward the Beauport shore, with boatloads of redcoats rowing through the fleet. They were staying put. They were wrong, of course. The British had staged a feint.



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Wolfe Scaling the Heights of Abraham, 1759. **Print by R. Caton Woodville, circa 1906-1908.**

Montcalm finally managed to gather an army of about thirty-five hundred, of whom just over sixteen hundred were enlisted men. The rest were militia. Montcalm's ultimate mistake was mixing Canadien militiamen with the white-coated king's troops he commanded. In battle, regular troops stood steadfast to get the best effect out of their muskets; militiamen hit the ground, shot their target, and crawled to safety. Montcalm assumed the regulars would train their reluctant new comrades. But there was no time.

Canadiens and their native allies spread to the flanks and opened fire on the British. French artillery tore bloody lanes through the British ranks. Wolfe ordered his soldiers to lie down. Officers stood, targets for militia and native sharpshooters. A bullet hit Wolfe's wrist; another his stomach. He ignored the pain and continued to direct his troops from the front of the line. The real battle had yet to begin.

As Montcalm's soldiers cheered and wondered why he looked so sad, the French general inspected his troops. Four French battalions formed a conventional line of battle extending from the Royal Roussillon regiment near the British centre to Montreal and Quebec militia battalions on the right flank. At 10 a.m. sharp, Montcalm commanded the drums to beat an advance. The British stood up. Aware that their muskets could not hit a barn door at over a hundred metres, they were silent. Two guns, dragged up by seamen, opened fire on the advancing French. Militia in the French regular battalions instinctively dropped to their knees or bellies to shoot, breaking the solidity of the line of advance. Sergeants kicked, cursed, and tried in vain to restore alignment. The British silence grew ominous. They waited until the French were about forty paces away. Then, with apparent calm, the British raised their weapons and fired. Using Wolfe's drill, as one line reloaded, another line stepped forward from the smoke. Then they fired again. From a hillock, Wolfe spotted panic-stricken French soldiers fleeing. He gave an order. British drums beat for an advance as the French line disintegrated. Only the Royal Roussillon kept in formation, crowding around its colonel. And the Canadien militia kept shooting.

At the moment of victory, a militia bullet tore into Wolfe's chest. Two officers lowered him to the ground. "It is all over with me," he told them. "They run," shouted a soldier. "Who run?" asked Wolfe. "The enemy," an officer answered. Wolfe gave orders for a pursuit and turned on his side: "Now God be praised, I will die in peace."

At almost the same moment, swept into the tide of his beaten army, Montcalm felt a cannon ball tear through his side. Carried in agony into Quebec's Upper Town, he had no advice for a badly shaken Vaudreuil. Upon learning his wound was mortal, Montcalm said: "I am happy I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." Next morning, he was dead. The French had lost six hundred men but thirteen thousand remained. They must attack, demanded Johnstone, Montcalm's Scottish aide. Exhausted and demoralized, Vaudreuil and the surviving colonels refused; Vaudreuil angrily ordered Johnstone out of his sight. Abandoning guns, baggage, and even their food supplies, the French army fled south on September 14. Their native allies took the food and went home. They, too, had done enough. With Monckton badly wounded, command fell to Brigadier Townshend. On September 17, he accepted Quebec's surrender. But New France was not quite finished. Lévis took his forces to Montreal for the winter, where they regrouped. They returned the following spring to attack a sickened and hungry British garrison in the second battle of Quebec, otherwise known as the Battle of Ste. Foy. It was that battle that would finally settle the question of who would claim Canada.

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Canadian historian Desmond Morton has authored over thirty-five books on Canada. An Officer of the Order of Canada, Morton is a professor emeritus at McGill University.

Et Cetera

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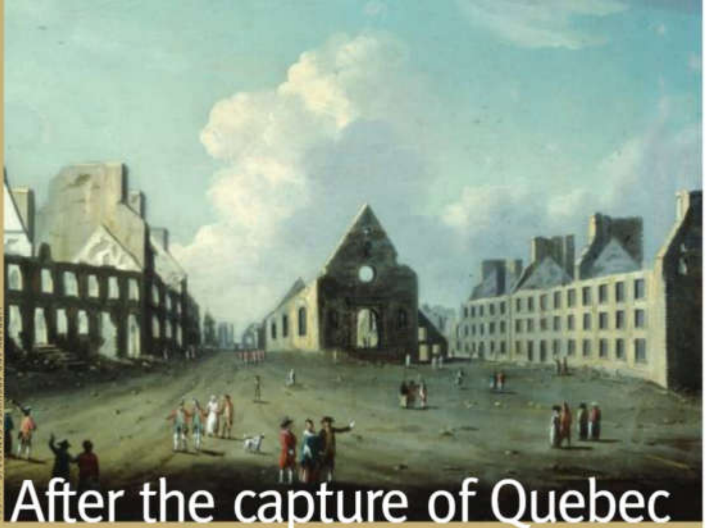

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After the capture of Quebec

There wasn't much left of Quebec City and the nearby countryside when the British took it over in 1759–60. A sergeant major of the 40th Regiment of General Hopson's Grenadiers (part of Wolfe's Army of the Louisbourg Grenadiers) states, in *A Journal of the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence*: "During the whole Siege from first to last, 535 Houses were burnt down, among which is the whole eastern Part of the lower Town (save 6 or 8 Houses) which makes a very dismal Appearance. We also destroyed upwards of Fourteen Hundred fine Farm-Houses in the Country."

He notes how the French garrison was sent home, "on board transports," and only "such of the Inhabitants as would come in and take the Oaths of Allegiance, were permitted to enjoy their Estates."

The conditions of surrender that allowed the settlers to return to France came into effect in 1763, after the Seven Years War ended and the Treaty of Paris was signed.

Many in Quebec left for France, including soldiers, officials, and some landowners. They departed Canada in the ships that had previously brought over British troops and supplies. But others stayed. These included clergy, a few seigneurial families, peasants, and coureurs de bois.

Although the inhabitants of New France did not display loyalty to the French crown, their language, culture, and tastes remained decidedly French. And their faith was resolutely preserved in the Roman Catholic tradition.

Why were the French inhabitants allowed to stay and keep their language, religion, and culture, when the British expelled thousands of French-speaking Acadians from their homeland just four years previously?

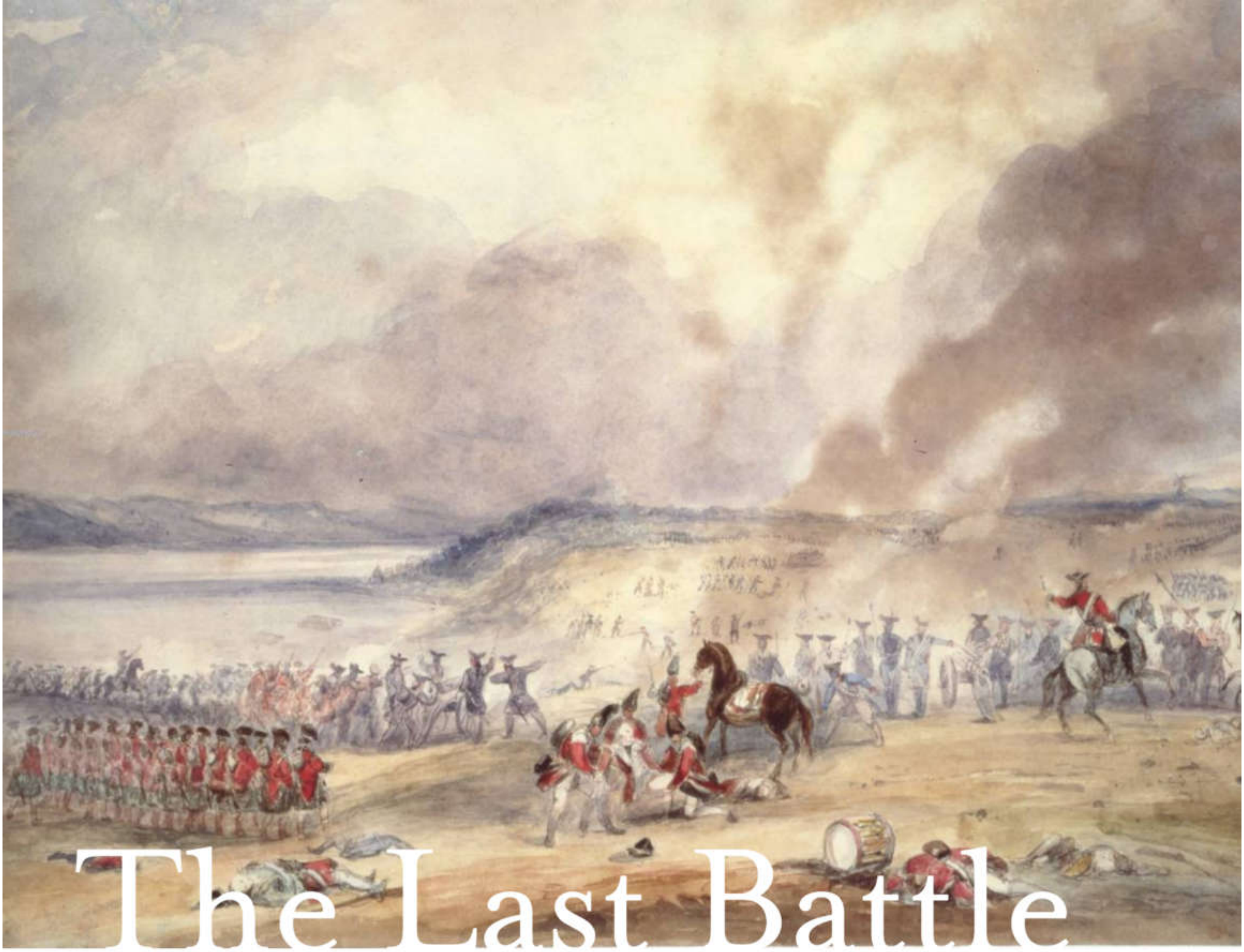
One factor was that the size of the French-speaking population, estimated at about 70,000 in 1763, greatly precluded any mass expulsion. Another factor was that the first two British governors — James Murray and Guy Carleton — were a Scot and an Irishman, respectively. Both spoke fluent French and sympathized with the French Roman Catholics.

In addition, when the harsh winter of 1759–1760 brought disease, as well as shortages of food and fuel, French settlers and British soldiers decided co-operation, not conflict, was the key to survival.

Historian Desmond Morton speculates why the British did not try to convert and anglicize the French Canadians: "Judging from other conquests of the period, it never occurred to them. The Thirty Years War tended to put wars of religion out of fashion."

Morton adds: "French, to the British of the eighteenth century, was as civilized a language as English.... Until 1763, who knew whether New France would be returned to France, and who could afford more trouble than necessary when the American colonists were so determined to be difficult?"

— Beverley Tallon



The Last Battle

The French were on the verge of retaking Quebec. Then the ice broke on the St. Lawrence River — and all hope for New France sank. *by P.G. Smith*

The winter of 1760 had been particularly harsh. In the settlement of Quebec, almost half of the British soldiers, Scottish Highlanders, and American Rangers that made up the five-thousand-man garrison were unable to stand duty. Nearly seven hundred had died from disease since the British victory of September 1759. No one knows how many of the civilian colonists had also succumbed to dysentery, scurvy, or other illnesses brought on by frigid temperatures and insufficient food supplies.

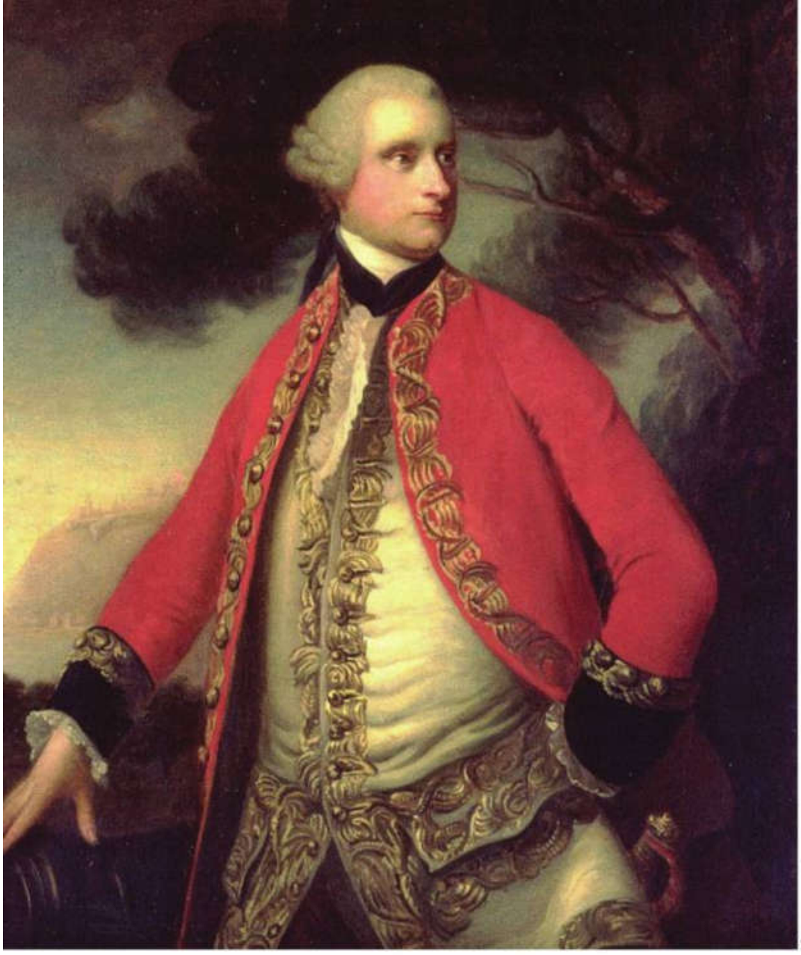
Spring was late that year and heavy snowdrifts covered the ground during the last week of April 1760. Brig.-Gen. James Murray, commander of the Quebec garrison, anxiously scanned the St. Lawrence for the approach of British ships that would bring relief for his suffering troops. However, instead of signs of the long-awaited convoy, the river brought news of a different sort.On the morning of April 27, British sailors carried a half-dead French artilleryman to Murray's quarters. The Frenchman had been rescued from the icy river after his boat capsized in the darkness. The shivering captive warned Murray that a massive force of French, Canadiens, and their First Nations allies would soon arrive from Montreal to attack Quebec.

Murray quickly assembled about a thousand troops and ordered that ten cannon be pulled along by their crews, since the horses that would ordinarily haul the gun carriages had long ago been eaten by the famished garrison.

Perhaps the promise of a decisive battle was welcome to soldiers after a long and anxious winter of sleeping in their boots. Clerk John Johnson of the 48th Regiment described the conditions in *Memoirs of the Siege of Quebec and Total Reduction of Canada in 1759 and 1760*: "From our first entrance in the Town of Quebec, our orders were every

Above: ***The Battle of Sainte-Foy,*** **watercolour by George B. Campion (1796–1870).**

Left: ***A view of the church of Notre-Dame-de-la-Victoire, Quebec City,*** **painting by Dominic Serres, 1760.**



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Above: ***Brig.-Gen. James Murray,*** **painting by an unknown artist, circa 1770.**

Right: Brig.-Gen. François-Gaston, Duc de Lévis, commander of the French army in North America. Artist and date of painting unknown.

night repeated, to lye on our arms: No officer, or soldier, unless he was sick, was allowed to undress, or go to bed; nor were we on any pretence, allowed to put off our accoutrements during the night."

A cold, steady rain began to fall as the British sallied forth from the walled city to gather in the light infantry detachments that were manning small outposts in the neighbouring villages of Ste. Foy, Sillery, and Cap Rouge. Murray could ill-afford the loss of any able-bodied men as he prepared to repel an onslaught from an enemy force more than twice the size of his sickly garrison.

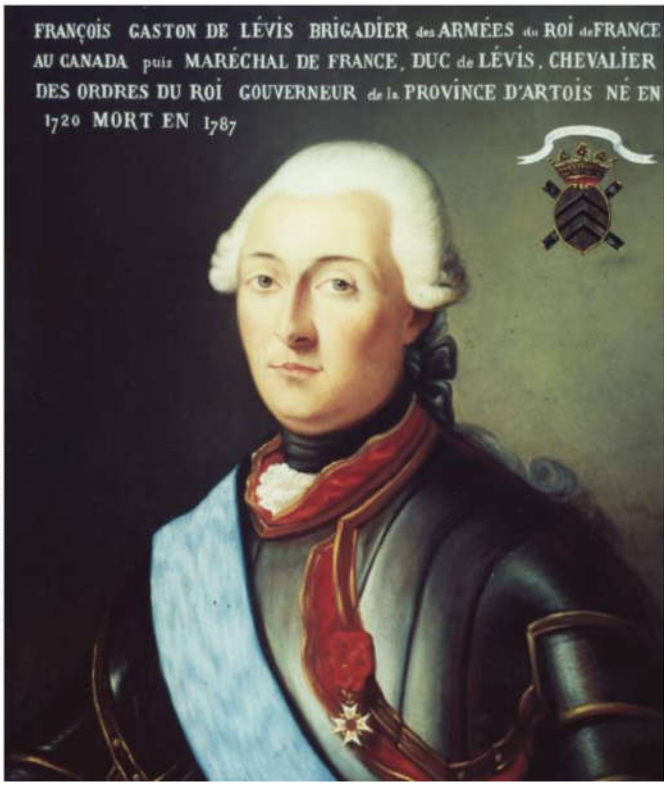
Meanwhile, Brig.-Gen. François-Gaston, Duc de Lévis, commander of the French army in North America, was positioning his nearly nine thousand troops beyond the forest near Ste. Foy. His force included regulars, militiamen, and First Nations warriors eager for a fight. Their mission was to retake Quebec from British control.

The sodden British army came under fire from French skirmishers as it approached Ste. Foy. Murray quickly deployed his infantry on a ridge and ordered his cannon to open fire on the woods that concealed the French. The smoke and shot effectively covered the retreat of the British light infantrymen as they scampered away from the outposts. After blowing up a church that housed an ammunition dump, the British retreated in good order to the fortress of Quebec. Murray was pleased with the conduct of his troops and ordered an extra ration of rum for the garrison that night. He knew they would need sustenance for the bloody business that was to come.

The rain stopped on the morning of April 28, but the ground was covered with soggy snowdrifts, pools of rainwater, and slippery mud. Again the British commander marched out from the walls of Quebec, this time with nearly three thousand troops and twenty-two cannon. In a later report, Murray described his strategy: "When I considered that our little army was in the habit of beating that enemy, and had a very fine train of artillery … I resolved to give them battle." The ragtag collection of soldiers — many of whom had risen from their hospital beds that morning — moved forward on the Plains of Abraham until the French were within range of their deadly cannon. The British then halted and let loose a deafening fusillade of cannon and musket fire. After initially charging the British lines, Lévis ordered his troops to take cover in the forest just beyond the village of Ste. Foy.

Mistaking the French withdrawal for a general retreat, Murray ordered his infantry forward to pursue the French force. In doing so, Murray lost the benefit of his position on the high ground. He also lost the advantage that his artillery gave him, because cannon cannot be fired at troops engaged in close combat. Moreover, the Canadien militiamen and First Nations warriors were now fighting from the forest, a type of warfare at which they excelled. The tide of battle soon turned. With the terrain covered with deep snowdrifts and sucking mud, Murray was forced to abandon most of his artillery, as well as many of his dead and wounded, and retreat behind the massive stone walls of Quebec.

The second battle of Quebec, or, as it has passed into the history books, the Battle of Ste. Foy, was a vicious two-hour struggle on April 28, 1760, that cost the British more than a thousand killed, wounded, or missing. The French had 800 casualties.


FRANÇOIS GASTON DE LÉVIS BRIGADIER des ARMÉES du ROI de FRANCE AU CANADA puis MARÉCHAL DE FRANCE, DUC de LÉVIS, CHEVALIER DES ORDRES DU ROI GOUVERNEUR de la PROVINCE D'ARTOIS NÉ EN 1720 MORT EN 1787

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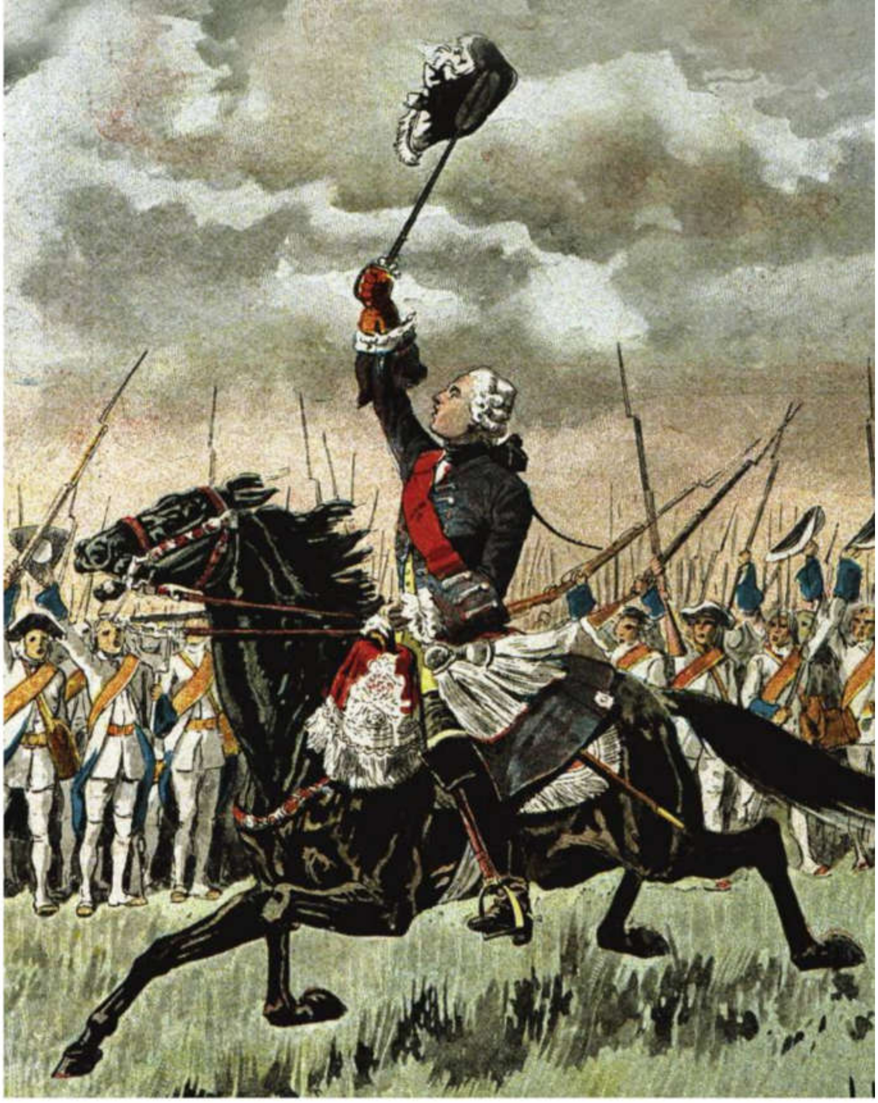
The fight took place seven months after Gen. James Wolfe's British forces defeated the army of Gen. Louis-Joseph de Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham. In that earlier battle in Septemer 1759, Lévis' forces had arrived too late and were forced to retreat to Montreal for the winter.

Now, with spring in the air, Lévis was poised to retake Quebec for France — so long as France came through with badly needed provisions. Lévis began a systematic siege. Lévis had plenty of cannon, but he was limited by his ammunition supply and the relatively small calibre of the guns, which were incapable of quickly breaching Quebec's walls.

Murray, unsuccessful as a field commander, proved himself to be an inspiring leader and a capable manager as he set about organizing the defence of Quebec. Fortifications were rebuilt, supplies reapportioned, and guard posts mounted. More importantly, Murray restored the fighting spirit of his starving, battered soldiers.

Meanwhile, the peculiar pleasantries of eighteenth-century warfare were not forgotten. Lévis had a wagonload of spruce boughs delivered to Murray, who had a fondness for spruce beer. Murray reciprocated by sending a Cheshire cheese to the French commander. Lévis and Murray would eventually come to be friends and maintained a cordial relationship throughout their lives.

In stark contrast to the genteel conduct of the commanders, British prisoners suffered unspeakable horrors at the hands of their First Nations captors. Large numbers of their scalps were found hanging from the trees — a gruesome atrocity for which the French were to be held responsible.



CANADIAN FORCES JOINT IMAGERY CENTER/REC93-3307-7

Lévis encourages his French army at the Battle of Ste. Foy on April 28, 1760, in this painting by René Bombled. The title of the work is: *General de Lévis at the Battle Sainte-Foy in 1870.*

Two weeks into the siege, the ice dams of the St. Lawrence finally melted, and on May 8 a single ship was spotted on the river. Both armies watched in anticipation to see if the ship's mainmast bore the white pennant of France or the red cross of Great Britain. The spring breeze unfurled the flag and a cheer rose from the walls as the soldiers caught a flicker of red at the masthead. The British garrison of Quebec was saved.

In the days that followed, more British ships sailed into the harbour. Soon the British fleet was strong enough to sink or rout all of the French vessels that supplied Lévis' army. A frustrated Lévis complained that one French frigate could have saved the colony for another year. In a letter to Intendant François Bigot on May 15, Lévis wrote: "I truly fear that France has abandoned us. … We have done and are doing what we can. It is my opinion that the colony will be lost without resources. If no help comes, all that we can do is prolong the time, in the hope that peace can be made during this interval."

With hope of retaking Quebec lost, Lévis began a hasty withdrawal to Montreal on May 16, 1760. Murray quickly gathered his forces in pursuit.

Spring turned to summer and the British army slowly rolled up all French resistance as it approached Montreal. By autumn, Lévis found himself and the remnants of his army surrounded by an overwhelming British force. His request to surrender with the honours of war was refused outright by Gen. Jeffrey Amherst, the British commander in North America, who held Lévis responsible for the horrendous treatment of the British prisoners at Ste. Foy.

On the night of September 8, 1760, Lévis formed the remnants of his army on Île Ste. Hélène in Montreal harbour and ordered the standard bearers to hurl their regimental colours onto a bonfire rather than let them fall into British hands as trophies. The sparks rising up into the starry night sky over the St. Lawrence heralded the end of New France as they flickered and turned to ash. The morning would bring a new day for Canada.

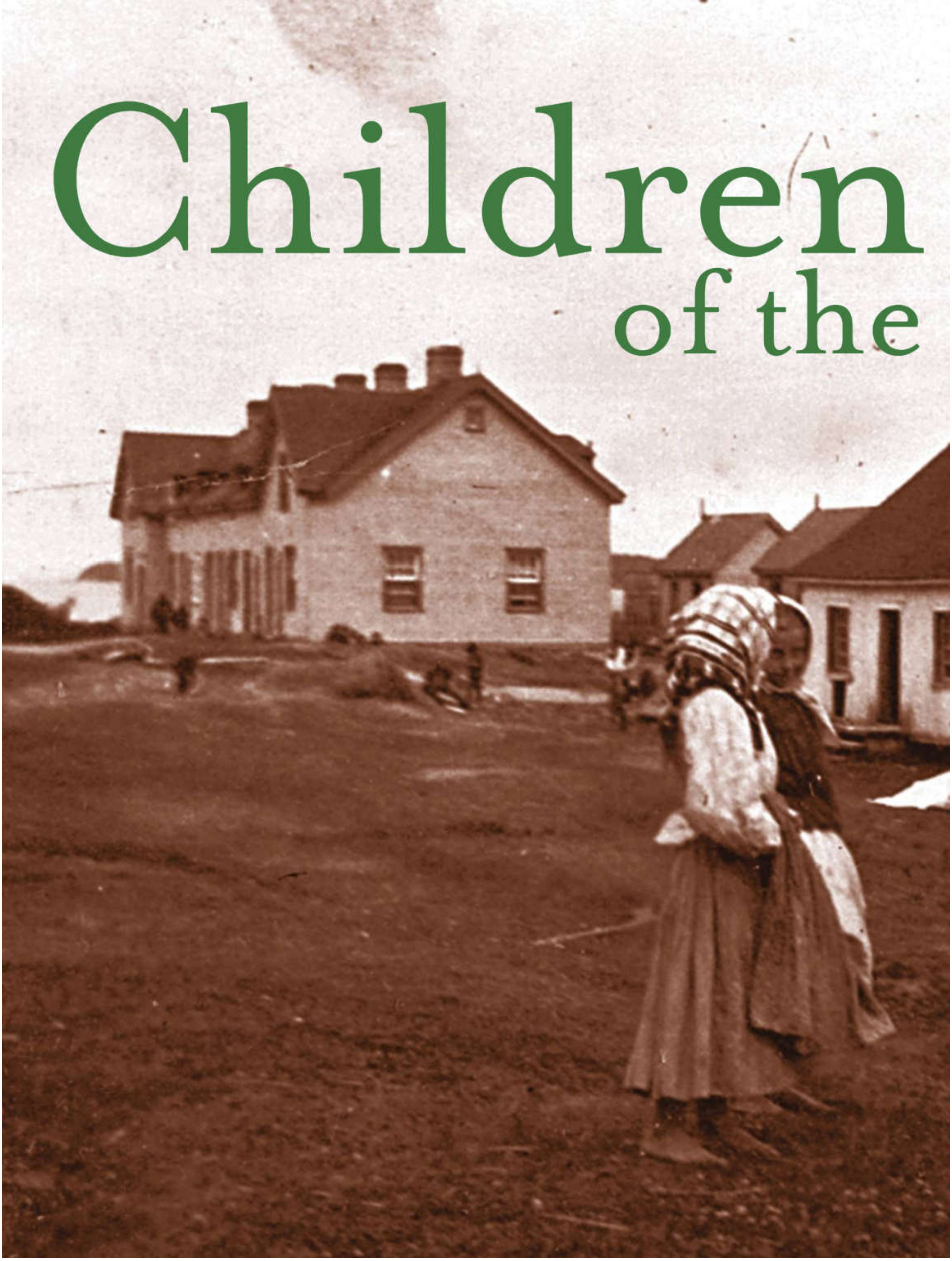
P.G. Smith is an educator, military officer and writer. He lives in Ashburnham, Massachusetts.

Et Cetera

Montcalm and Wolfe, by Francis Parkman. Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1884.

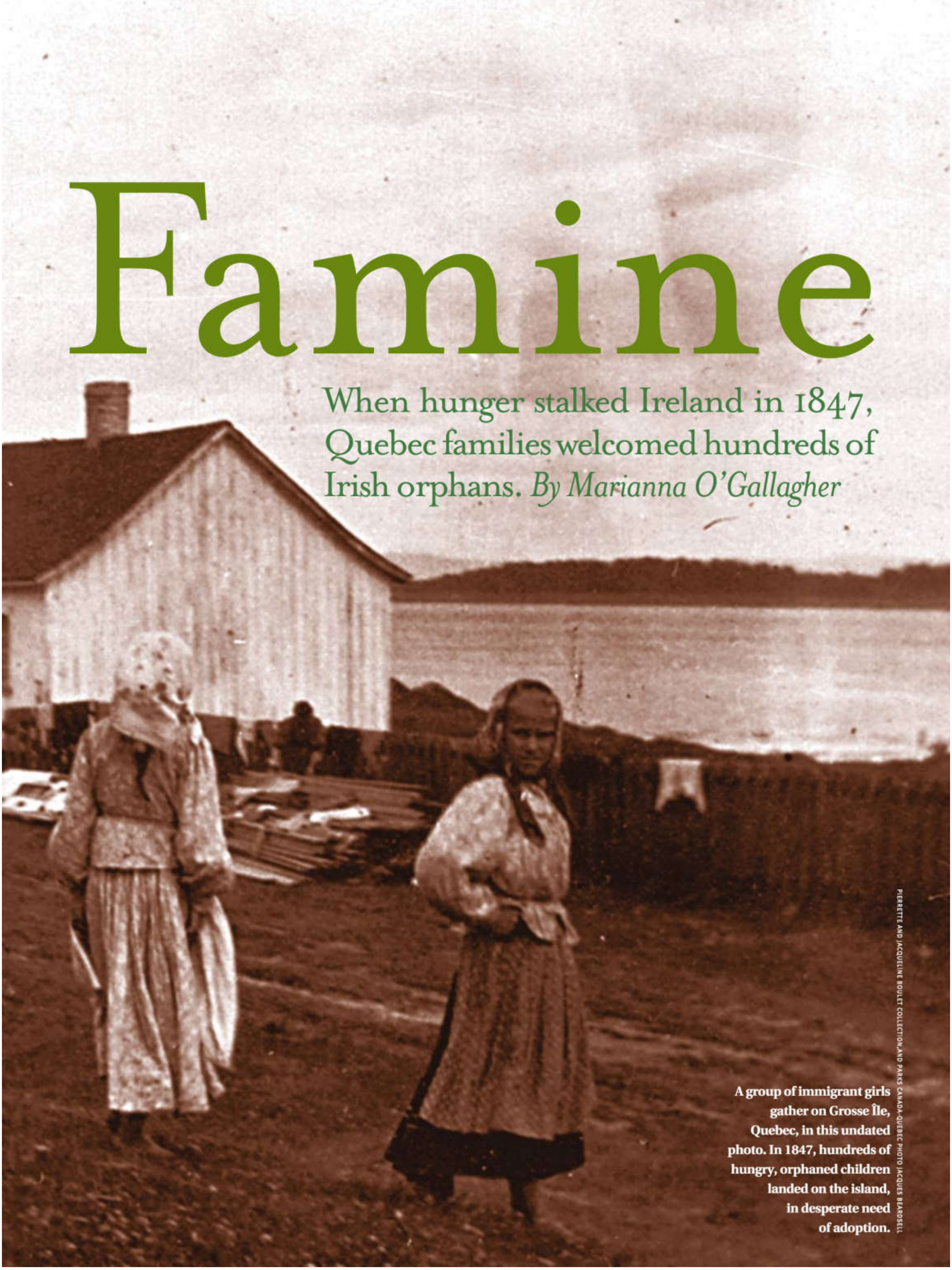
Quebec Under Two Flags, by Arthur Doughty, Quebec News Company, Quebec City, 1903.

Children of the



Famine

When hunger stalked Ireland in 1847, Quebec families welcomed hundreds of Irish orphans. *By Marianna O'Gallagher*



A group of immigrant girls gather on Grosse Île, Quebec, in this undated photo. In 1847, hundreds of hungry, orphaned children landed on the island, in desperate need of adoption.

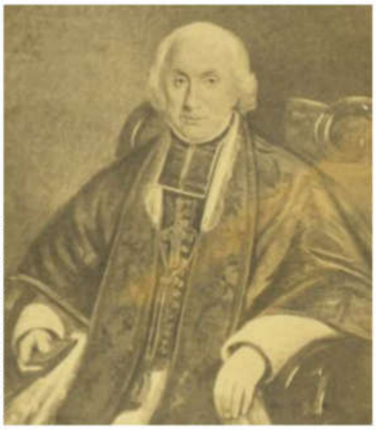
PIERRETTE AND JACQUELINE BOULET COLLECTION,AND PARKS CANADA-QUEBEC PHOTO JACQUES BEARDSELL

French Canadian families adopted hundreds of Irish orphans at the time of the famine, according to the many records that were kept of those fatal years from 1845 to 1851 when disease struck the potato crops of Europe, and famine stalked the hills and glens of Ireland.

Paper records are kept with care in the diocesan archives of Quebec, but the story has been handed down through the episcopate over the years …

It was the beginning of summer in 1847. Streaks of sunlight combined with light from the candles for *la grande messe du dimanche* to light the cathedral of Quebec City. Incense wafted around the altar as the choir and the great organ produced their solemn tones.

It was, in many ways, a typical Sunday morning in Quebec City. But all was not well. Rumours were rife that a huge number of immigrants were about to swamp Quebec's shores.



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Joseph Signay, archbishop of Quebec City from 1833 to 1850.

Newspapers told of troubles in Ireland and Scotland. Unusually large numbers of ships were coming into this world-class seaport to disgorge a grim cargo of sorry-looking immigrants.

The citizens of this place were accustomed to newcomers. After all, Quebec was one of the busiest seaports in the world. But word on the street was that there was an epidemic festering among the shiploads of immigrants, and fears were roused among the people who remembered the terrors of the cholera epidemic in 1832.

There were likely many worried citizens at church that Sunday morning. They must have looked at the haggard little children who crowded the front pews with a mixture of curiosity and concern.

Archbishop Joseph Signay, presiding as chief celebrant, stood at the altar railing, crowned by his mitre, with the shepherd's crook in his hand — the very image of the Good Shepherd that he wanted to portray.

In a letter written later to his clergy, he detailed the events of that day:

"My people," he told the parishioners, speaking in French, with a gesture encompassing the sombre little children, "these little ones have come to us today in need. These little children come from Ireland, where a great number of families have succumbed to the horror of hunger, and it is to be feared that a greater number still will suffer the same fate. I turn to you, my faithful parishioners. These little children have lost their parents. They are now alone on our doorstep. We cannot ignore them. Today I call upon you to take care of them. I will wait for you to respond."

The archbishop paused, then spoke with deliberation: "At the end of this mass, the doors of this cathedral of ours will remain closed until all these little children have found a place in a family, in this parish, in this city." Another pause. "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen."

The congregation stirred, some craning their necks to get a closer look at the tangle of little blond and redheaded boys and girls sitting meekly at the front of the church.

After the mass, there was a quiet shuffle of feet and an unaccustomed talking in church, as men and women shyly approached the children. Within a very short time, the ushers were able to swing open the cathedral doors, and French-speaking families emerged larger in number by the addition of one or two dazed Irish children.

It was a scene that would be repeated throughout many parishes in the diocese and beyond over the next few months, as more and more orphaned children streamed into the cities — freed from the narrow confines of weeks at sea below decks on timber ships, and from the equally numbing trauma of the quarantine tents and sheds on Grosse Île.

The quarantine station at Grosse Île — a small island about fifty kilometres downriver from the port of Quebec — had been established by the imperial government in 1832 as a measure of defence against the epidemic of cholera that swept Europe in the 1830s.

Quebec was at the time a major shipping port. Boats heavy with manufactured goods from Europe would unload in Quebec and then make the return journey carrying tonnes of Canadian timber. The boats often also carried a human cargo.

The New World offered what seemed to be unlimited freedom and potential to the unemployed, the landless, and those discriminated against for practising Catholicism. What was there to lose?

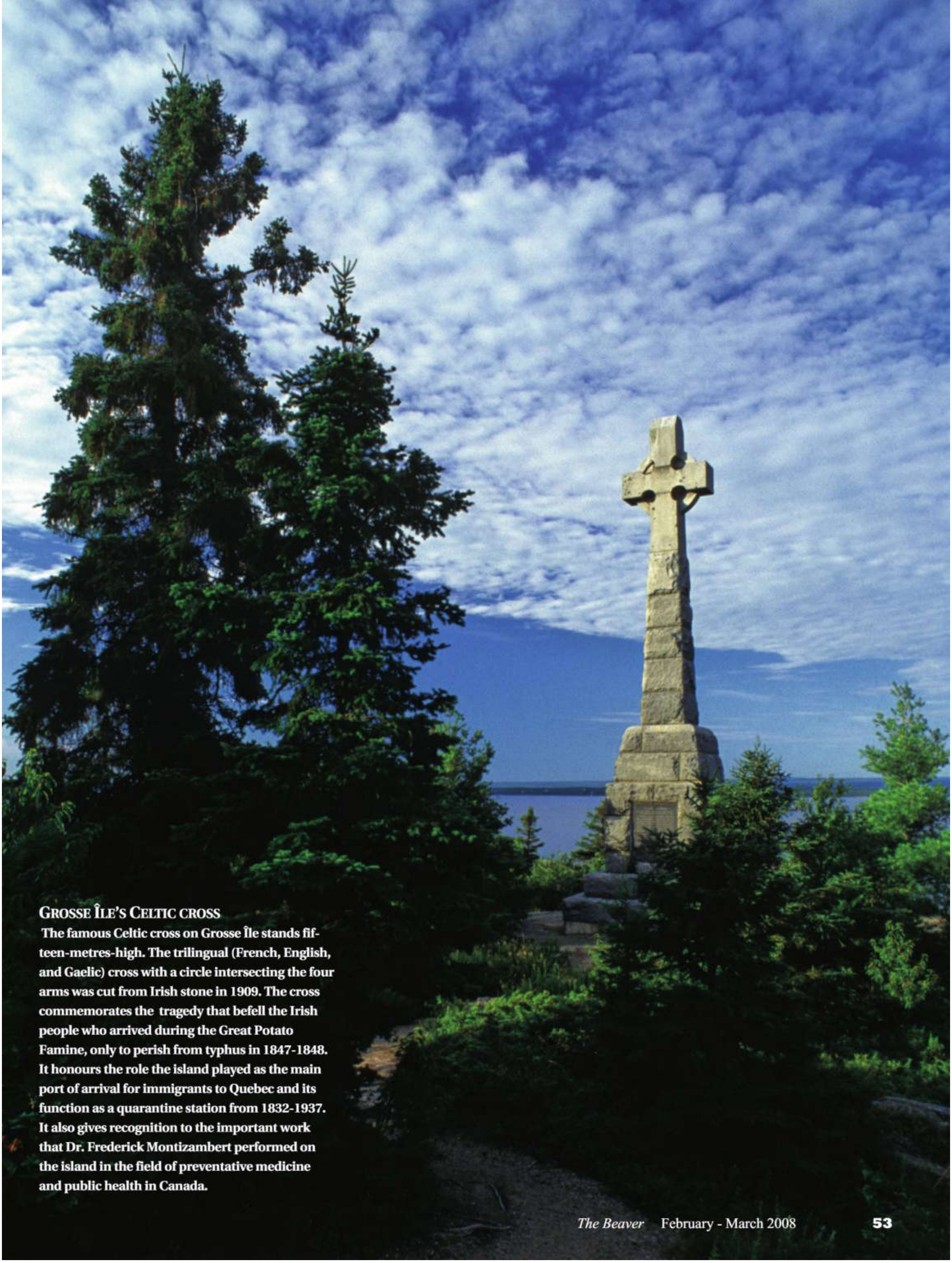
By 1830, the throngs of immigrants threading their way through Quebec City had reached as many as 60,000 in a single season — all from Great Britain and Ireland.

Grosse Île, in the long run, was a successful quarantine station, but its two years of failure — 1832 and 1847 — were monumental. Grosse Île's health and religious officials were unable to cope with the arrival of waves of hungry families after the terrible famine struck Ireland.

The introduction of the potato into Europe changed life for many people, but probably nowhere more than in Ireland. The simple tuber made it possible for people dwelling on small holdings to nourish themselves very well.

There was more nourishment in a hectare of potatoes than in a hectare of wheat; it contained vegetable protein, vitamin C, and potassium. Thanks to the potato, families were able to support and feed many children, causing an unprecedented growth in population.

SYLVAIN MAJEAU



GROSSE ÎLE'S CELTIC CROSS

The famous Celtic cross on Grosse Île stands fifteen-metres-high. The trilingual (French, English, and Gaelic) cross with a circle intersecting the four arms was cut from Irish stone in 1909. The cross commemorates the tragedy that befell the Irish people who arrived during the Great Potato Famine, only to perish from typhus in 1847-1848. It honours the role the island played as the main port of arrival for immigrants to Quebec and its function as a quarantine station from 1832-1937. It also gives recognition to the important work that Dr. Frederick Montizambert performed on the island in the field of preventative medicine and public health in Canada.

However, just as a one-industry town lives on the brink of economic disaster, so a people who depend on a single crop live on the brink of famine. This proved all too true in 1847.

The first signs of the Fourth Horseman appeared in September of 1845, when both farmers and scientists discovered a blight on the potato plants. It proved to be *phytophthera infestans*, a fungus that rapidly spread throughout the potato fields.

People managed over the winter and planted again in the spring. The following year was a bad one, with death and starvation everywhere. Compounding the crisis was the fact that millions worked like serfs for English landholders, to whom they paid rent.

Right page: Irish emigrants to America in the nineteenth century suffered through horrible conditions during their transatlantic crossing, as illustrated by this 1851 engraving, *Emigrants in Boat.*

As the famine worsened, emigration began to grow. The lack of seed potatoes in the fall of 1846 cast a pall over the country. "What of next year?" many wondered.

By 1847, the situation was dire. Irish officials mounted famine-relief programs, but many saw emigration to the New World as their only hope.

Some landlords in Ireland — like Major Mahon of Strokestown, in County Roscommon, who was later murdered — rented ships and urged their people to take advantage of the offers of free land in Canada. The British government even used the term "surplus population" to describe the famine victims.

That surplus population worked its way to the ports and took passage where they could find it, sometimes on very old ships — the despised "coffin ships" of the Black '47.

In May of 1847, Dr. George Mellis Douglas, the medical superintendent of Grosse Île, was notified by the chief immigration agent at Montreal, Alexander Carlisle Buchanan, about the unusually large number of ships coming in.

By May 11, Buchanan knew that thirty-four vessels carrying 10,636 passengers were en route to Canada. All this bore out what Douglas had warned at the end of the navigation season in 1846, writing to the governor general that a greater number of immigrants — very likely sick immigrants — would arrive in Canada the next summer.

Little was known in those days about communicable diseases. Many unfortunate people went aboard ships already bearers of illness. Cleanliness was impossible in the crowded steerage below decks, and lice carrying typhus transferred easily from person to person, spreading the death-dealing sickness known among emigrants as "ship fever." Many died while still at sea.

Neither health nor religious officials at Grosse Île were equipped to handle the growing crisis. This was confirmed by the flurry of concerned letters sent from the island in May, as well as newspaper reports of the constant rate of burials on Grosse Île itself.

Father Bernard McGauran, head of the chaplains, in a letter asked the bishop for another priest to assist him and Father Elzéar Taschereau. Bishop Mountain, the Anglican bishop of Quebec, also sent his priests to the island. Douglas, the medical superintendent, sought desperately to hire more doctors — but it wasn't enough.

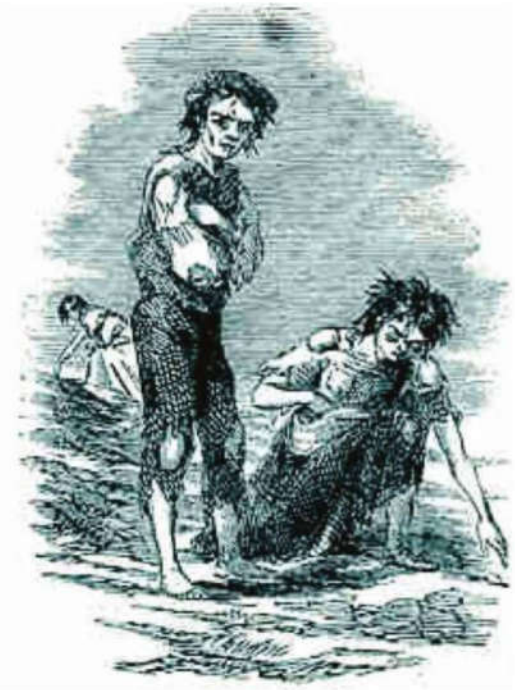
In Montreal, Buchanan, the immigration agent, was so struck by the desperation in Douglas's correspondence that he sent a copy to Major Campbell, the civil secretary to the governor general. Parts of Douglas's letter were published in the *Quebec Mercury* on June 9:

> Of the 4,000 or 5,000 emigrants who left here since Sunday, at least 2,000 will fall sick in the next three weeks. Since most of the passengers from Cork and Liverpool are half-dead because of hunger and the lack of care they had to submit to before landing.... I never saw people so indifferent to life; in their bunks on the ships, they continued to stay with a dead person right beside them, until the sailors or the captain took the corpses out with grappling hooks. Good God, what evil will befall the city wherever they alight. Hot weather will increase the evil....

In a May 1847 letter to the bishop, Father Taschereau — a young, recently ordained priest — described the terrible conditions aboard the coffin ships. The first ship, the *Syria*, had docked on May 14. One day later, at least sixty-five of the passengers were in hospital at Grosse Île. By the end of the month, a total of seventy-four vessels had stopped at the quarantine station. Thirteen hundred immigrants were sick in hospital, and about thirteen thousand waited on board the coffin ships for permission to land.

Already, more than one hundred orphans were gathered at the quarantine station. At the beginning of June, chaplains began visiting the sick before they were brought ashore. Taschereau wrote:

> Most of them ... are wearing the same clothes and the same shoes that they had when they came on board ship.... I have seen people whose feet were so stuck to



Children suffering during the Great Famine,* 1847. Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News

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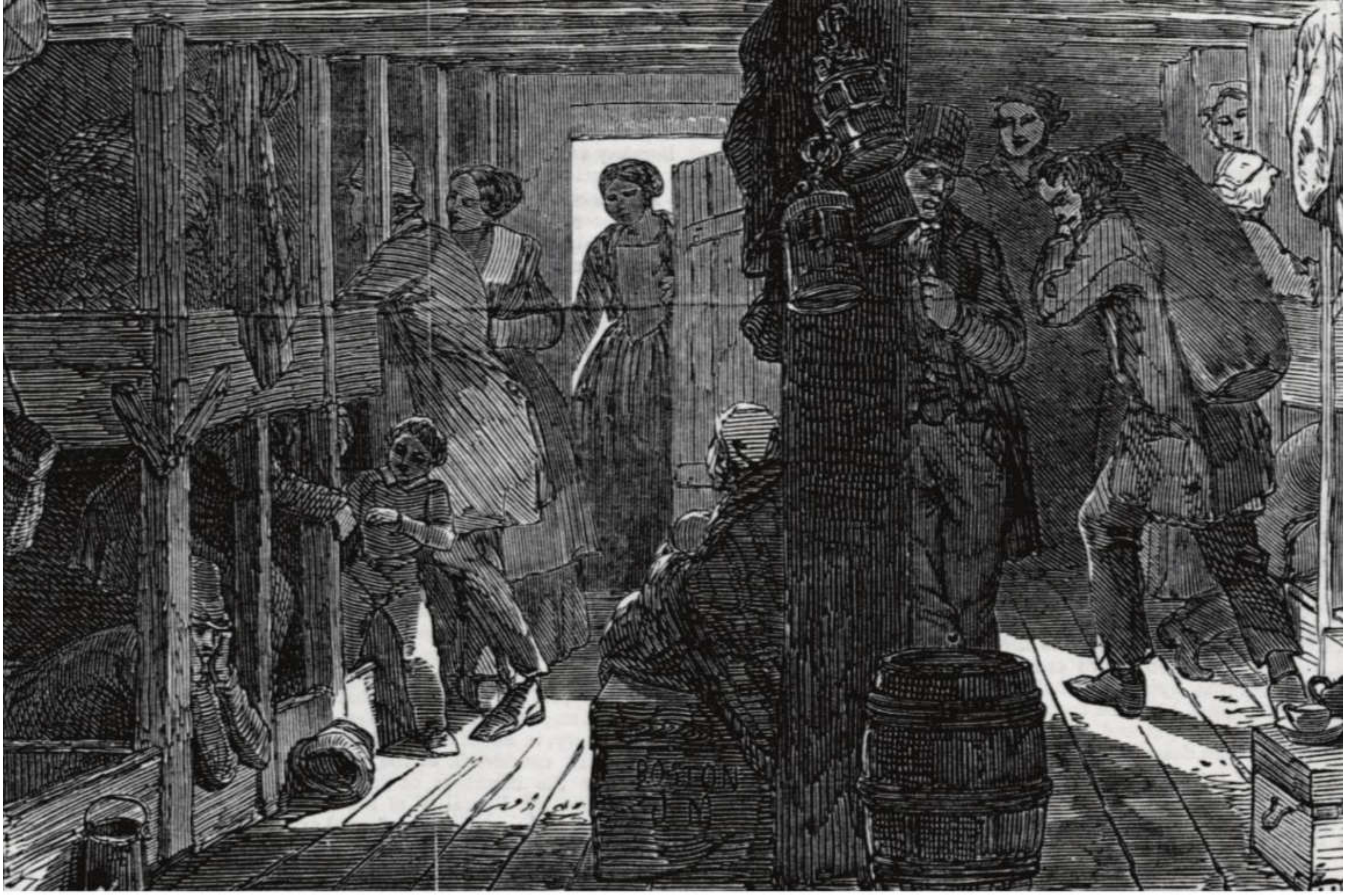

their socks that I could not anoint them! … What astounds me is that they can live another forty-eight hours without all dying…. The number of orphans is very great, and sadly enough, we could not do anything more for them than to entrust them to a few mothers of families, and give them some money to buy food. Most of them will die like the others: happy not to have known their misfortune here! I saw a child playing with the hand of his mother who had just died."

Some historians have calculated that children outnumbered adults two to one on the ships in 1847. More than 90,000 immigrants entered the St. Lawrence that year. There must have been many children among the thousands who died at sea. Quebec City offers a list of more than six hundred children adopted in the Catholic diocese of the time.

Many heeded the call to adopt. The people of Trois-Rivières clamoured for children, according to a letter of Father Bernard O'Reilly. Religious orders, such as the Sisters of Providence and the Grey Nuns in Montreal, as well as groups like the Charitable Ladies of Quebec, kept lists of the names and placements of the orphans. In Kingston, Ontario, about one hundred orphans were sent to stay at the then-new Hotel Dieu Hospital. The sisters there also kept lists and recorded the story of the orphans' kind reception by Catholics and Protestants alike.

The orphans' stories are many and varied. In 1989, Leo Tye of Ste-Croix de Lotbinière, recounted the tale of his grandfather, Daniel Tighe, who, as a twelve-year-old from Lisinuffy in County Roscommon, came to Quebec aboard the ship *Naomi* with his younger sister Catherine, his mother Mary Kelly, and an uncle. Daniel's father had already died in Ireland.

Most of them … are wearing the same clothes and the same shoes that they had when they came on board ship…. I have seen people whose feet were so stuck to their socks that I could not anoint them!

Statistical records in Quebec speak bluntly of the horrors of that crossing: of the 421 passengers on the *Naomi*, seventy-eight died at sea. During eleven days of quarantine on Grosse Île, another thirty-nine died on board, waiting to land, and a further eighty-seven died in hospital on the island. Among the dead were the mother and uncle of Daniel and Catherine.

The siblings, along with twelve other orphans, were met at Quebec City and taken by cart to Ste-Croix de

At right: Thomas Quinn, an Irish orphan who was taken in by the caretaker of a Quebec seminary.

Lotbinière by a local priest. They were met by a local couple, Mr. and Mrs. François Coulombe. The Coulombes were childless, but they owned a farm and needed a boy to help with the chores.

Tye said that when the couple indicated they were only interested in adopting Daniel, his sister Catherine "clung to him, and both children began to cry."

The Coulombes shrugged, Tye recalled, and said "*On va prendre les deux.*" (We'll take the two.) When Daniel was eighteen, the Coulombes called in the local notary and deeded their land to their adoptive son.

The Reilly girls' story is different: The three sisters, Helena, Bridget and Mary (twelve, seven, and five), were taken to the convent of the General Hospital of Quebec. Helena Reilly decided to become a nun there, and in her career became a writer, producing the history of the foundation of the hospital and a biography of Bishop de St. Vallier, the founder of the hospital.

From left: Bridget, Mary and Helena Reilly were sisters orphaned during the journey from Ireland to Grosse Île in 1847.

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Bridget married in the local parish. But Mary remained sickly all her life, perhaps due to the trauma of the voyage from Ireland aboard the ship *Avon*. Conditions on that ship were dreadful. It was cited six times in a Royal Commission report about the tragedy of Grosse Île. Of the 550 passengers on the *Avon*, 136 died at sea and another 110 died at the quarantine station.

Patrick and Thomas Quinn (aged twelve and six) were sent to the seminary in Nicolet, near Trois-Rivières, where they were adopted by Georges Bourke, the seminary's caretaker. Both became priests.

Some time later, the parishioners of St. Bibiane's Church in the village of Richmond, Quebec, were delighted when they heard that their new curate was to be Rev. Thomas Quinn. As most of them were Irish, they had long hoped for a priest who could address them in English. Great was their dismay when Father Thomas arrived, for he had lost any English he ever had after living from the age of six with his adopted French family. (The people of Richmond taught him English and Father Thomas eventually became pastor of the parish, and then chancellor of the diocese.)

Not all of the stories have happy endings. Records in Quebec tell us that some children were returned by their adoptive families. Some children ran away. Others were removed from abusive situations. But the saddest part is the number of children who died. Out of the 619 orphans recorded in Quebec City, 103 children died.

Nonetheless, the saga of the Irish orphans lives on because it is remembered in Quebec — by the Irish with gratitude, and by the French with justifiable pride.

Marianna O'Gallagher is an award-winning author, teacher and historian and a renowned expert on the Irish experience in Quebec. She is also a member of both the Ordre national du Québec and the Order of Canada.

Go behind the story with The Beaver's podcast interview with Marianna O'Gallagher, at: thebeaver.ca

Et Cetera

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World Heritage Jewel

Quebec City's UNESCO designation is a source of pride for all Quebecers.

by Jean-Marie Lebel

In 1985, the Quebec City's efforts to preserve its heritage were officially recognized by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee. On December 2 of that year, the Historic District of Old Quebec became the first North American urban site added to UNESCO's prestigious register of places of historical worldwide importance. In announcing the honour, UNESCO called the Old City "a world heritage jewel." The recognition is a great source of pride to Quebecers.

The Heritage

UNESCO's decision was the crowning achievement of the efforts of many people throughout the history of the community to preserve the cachet of Old Quebec.

In the 1870s, for instance, Lord Dufferin, the governor general of Canada, requested that the fortifications of Quebec be preserved. Without the preservation of the fortifications, UNESCO would certainly have overlooked Old Quebec. Later, in 1929, the influential Colonel William Wood requested the preservation of various houses in the historic district. In 1951, Gérard Morisset commissioned the restoration of la Maison Chevalier, built in 1752, which incorporated earlier structures built between 1675 and 1692. Following the 1959 restoration, the building was purchased by the Duplessis provincial government and turned into a museum.

From the 1960s onward, time in the Old City not only stood still, but was turned back.

On November 6, 1963, the Lesage government declared Old Quebec a historic site. During the Quiet Revolution, Old Quebec had been a mere assemblage of old houses (some even considered it a slum). It soon took on a symbolic significance; many felt it should reflect the French roots of yore. Accordingly, Pierre Laporte, a minister in the Lesage government (Laporte was later murdered by the Quebec Liberation Front during the 1970 October Crisis) launched the monumental Place-Royale restoration project in 1966. The efforts revitalized the Old City, which had suffered from generations of commercialization and neglect. The Place-Royale project also weighed significantly in UNESCO's decision. In 1979, Quebec City Mayor Jean Pelletier's administration established the Old Quebec Division, which documented each house in the Old City and advised owners on restoring the historical appearance of many homes.

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The Legacy

During the ceremonies held to announce the UNESCO designation, Henri Lopes, the official UNESCO representative, stated: "Quebec no longer belongs only to Quebecers. Each of them shall now be accountable to a universal sense of custodianship to maintain the permanence of this city."

Above: Place-Royale, Quebec City.

These words imposed heavy obligations, but the authorities and citizens of Quebec already understood the importance of preserving their heritage.

Indeed, Old Quebec is lucrative as a tourist destination. Tourism, which began in earnest in the mid-nineteenth century, is vital to the city. The Château Frontenac, completed in 1893, and the Palais Station, finished in 1916, are examples of the attempts that have been made to "age" the city and attract visitors.

In 1993, Mayor Jean-Paul L'Allier successfully applied to have the headquarters of the Organization of World Heritage Cities established in Quebec City. Becoming part of world heritage has not changed Old Quebec, but it has added to the city's allure.

Historian Jean-Marie Lebel is vice-president of the magazine *Cap-aux-Diamants* and teaches at Laval University's continuing education faculty (UTAQ). Lebel's book *Les Chroniques de la capitale: Québec 1608–2007* will be published by Les Presses de l'Université Laval in March 2008.

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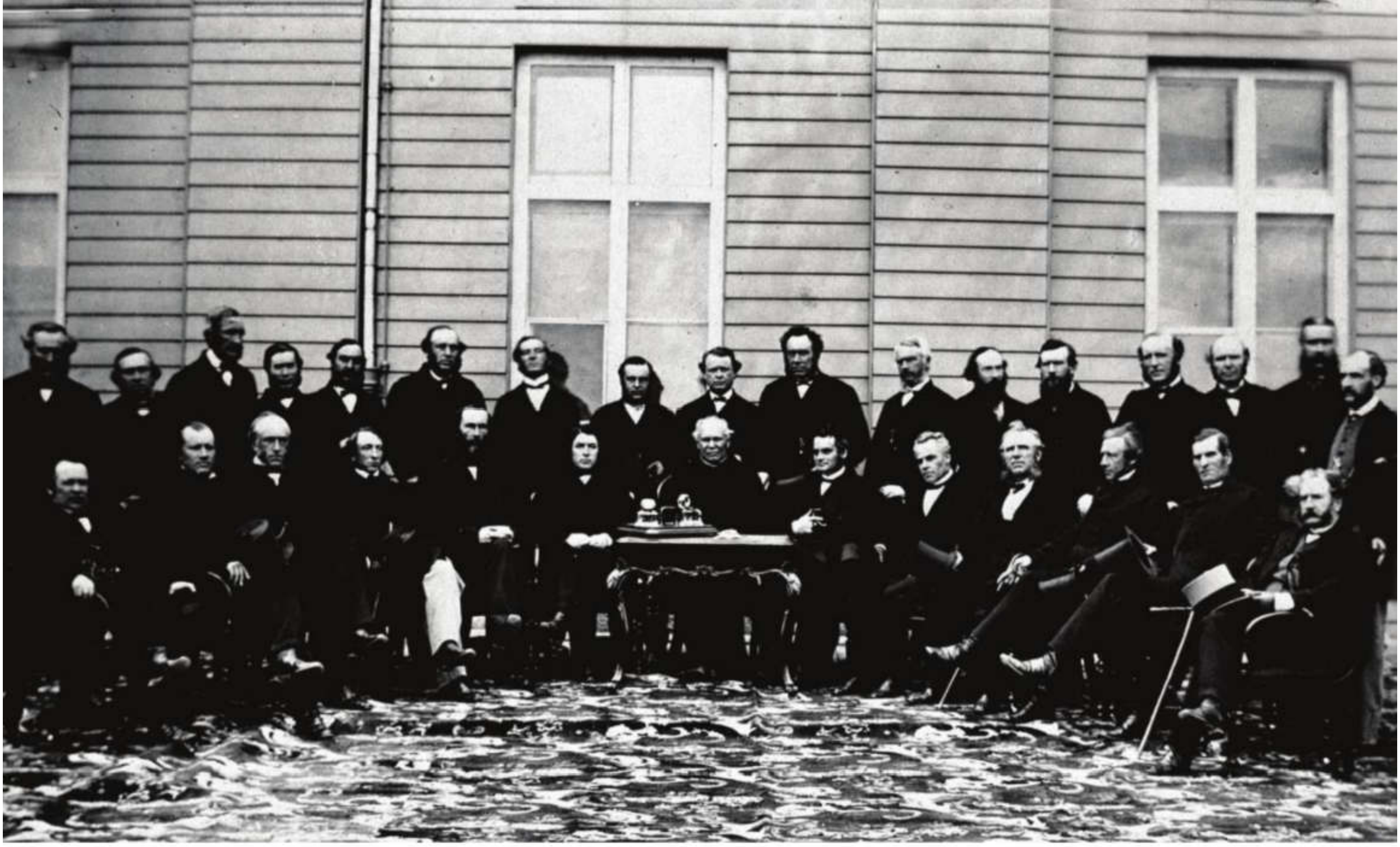


Delegates from the legislatures of the United Province of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland gather for a photo during the October 1864 Quebec Conference on Confederation.

CP PHOTO/JULES-ISAIAH LIVERNOIS

Creating Canada

Charlottetown may get the glory, but it was in Quebec City, in 1864, that our nation was truly born.

by Réal Bélanger

In October of 1864, Quebec City — the capital of the United Province of Canada — was the site of one of the most important episodes of its history. In the British colony's parliament building, located at the top of the Côte de la Montagne, thirty-three delegates — all members of their respective colonial governments — held meetings from October 10 to 27.

They were from the province of Canada (at that time comprised of southern Ontario and southern Quebec), New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland.

Their goal: to finish the negotiations held a month prior in Charlottetown, which were designed to unite the five British colonies under a federal banner, and to develop final resolutions. A decisive step by any measure, the Quebec Conference mapped the main outline of what was to become the British North America Act.

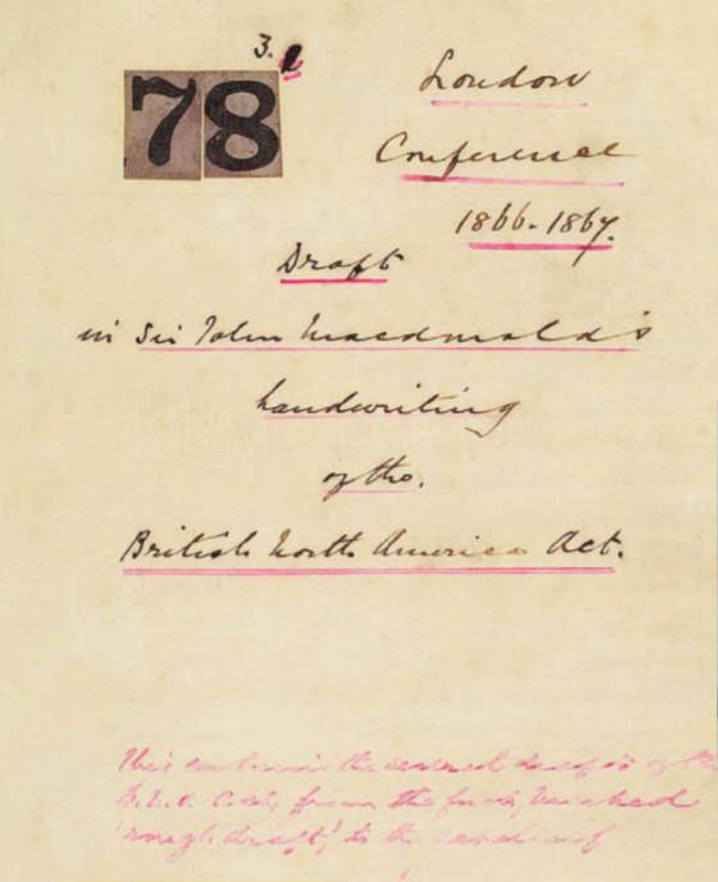
The French atmosphere of the city — and the magnificent view from the second floor of the parliament building, where they were meeting — charmed the delegates. Every day, they saw the majestic St. Lawrence River and the picturesque Île d'Orléans displayed before them.

The colourful view in the fall of 1864 was somewhat compromised by an unexpected heavy snowfall and, in particular, by the incessant rain that fell on the capital. Worried that the weather would dampen the spirits of the delegates at this decisive moment in history, the hosts — the leaders of the province of Canada — decided to throw a party.

For seventeen days, the delegates and their families were invited to all kinds of events: balls, dances, receptions, lunches, and dinners. Governor General Lord Charles Stanley Monck held a reception for seven hundred people. Another 850 attended a ball put on by the Canadian government and led by Étienne-Paschal Taché, the prime minister of the province of Canada.

It wasn't all fun and games, however — the delegates also worked hard. Their days began at 11 a.m. and ended at 4 p.m., and at times they worked late into the evening.

The delegates followed the agenda prepared by the provincial cabinet of Canada. The deliberations, presided over by Taché, were held in private, which did little to please the journalists covering the event. However, some



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London Conference 1866-1867.

Draft in Sir John Macdonald's handwriting of the British North America Act.

This contains the several drafts of the B.N.A. Act, from the first marked 'rough draft,' to the [illegible]

[illegible]

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Above: A draft of the British North America Act, by Sir John A. Macdonald.

George-Étienne Cartier

ARCHIVES DE L'UNIVERSITE DE MONTREAL

delegates indiscreetly revealed details of the discussions, and historians filled in the blanks later.

The colonies first agreed on one crucial aspect: each of them would have one voice during votes, except Canada, which would have two. There were many discussions, often intense and complex, and some required an uneasy compromise. John A. Macdonald, attorney general for Canada West (formerly Upper Canada), likely dominated the discussions, even though his first intention of establishing a legislative union was not accepted.

Throughout the conference, Macdonald argued against granting too much power to the provinces. He believed a strong central government was the key to a prosperous and successful Canada.

South of the border, the American Civil War was raging — a direct result, Macdonald believed, of that country's weak federal union, with too much power resting with its states.

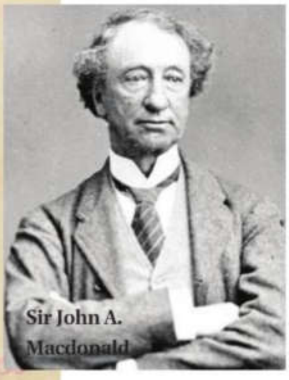
In *John A. Macdonald: The Young Politician. The Old Chieftain*, historian Donald Creighton notes that at a September 1864 meeting in Halifax Macdonald had lobbied for a strong, centralized confederation.

"If we can only attain that object — a vigourous general government — we shall not be New Brunswickers, nor Nova Scotians, nor Canadians, but British Americans under the sway of the British sovereign."

In Quebec, he urged the delegates not to repeat the mistake of their American neighbours by creating a weak federal union. To do so, he said, "would ruin us in the eyes of the civilized world."

The resolutions, which Macdonald often wrote by hand, were proposed to other colonies after being approved by the cabinet of Canada.

Strangely enough, George-Étienne Cartier, the main representative of the French Canadian people, said virtually nothing — which suggests that he may have previously expressed his intentions to Macdonald.



Sir John A. Macdonald

CP PHOTO

Cartier, like other representatives from from Canada East (formerly Lower Canada, was promoting the creation of a real federation — one that would adequately protect the distinct characteristics of French Canadians. In this sense, he understood the concerns of party delegates from the Maritimes, who also feared losing their identity in a legislative union.

At times, with respect to the more contentious points, the conference came close to failing altogether.

Although the federal structure and the breakdown of powers between the federal and provincial governments was decided fairly easily, the same cannot be said, for example, of the distribution of seats in the Senate, nor of the financial arrangements submitted by Alexander T. Galt, finance minister of Canada.

One colony in particular played the troublemaker in the talks.

Prince Edward Island's seven delegates, including George Coles, Edward Palmer and A.A. Macdonald, formed a kind of unofficial opposition during that negotiations. The P.E.I. delegation felt, as a smaller colony, it was not getting a fair deal on seats in either the House of Commons or the Senate, and it disagreed with the financial arrangements of the new union. It waged a battle on each of these issues, but failed to persuade the other delegates.

For its part, Newfoundland, represented by two delegates, played more of an observer role during the meetings and ultimately decided not to join Canada.

Following the negotiations, the colonies put together seventy-two resolutions that also established a plan for a later meeting of all the colonies in British North America, including British Columbia, Vancouver Island, and the Northwest Territories. Finalized during one last conference held in London that began on December 4, 1866 — in the absence of P.E.I. and Newfoundland — the resolutions would constitute the main foundations for the new country. And on July 1, 1867, the nation of Canada — made up of the provinces Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia — was officially born.

Réal Bélanger is a retired professor of history with Université Laval in Quebec City, and co-director of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.

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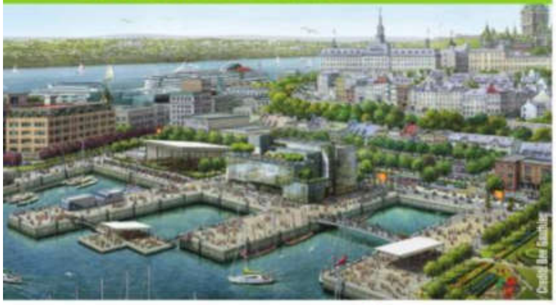

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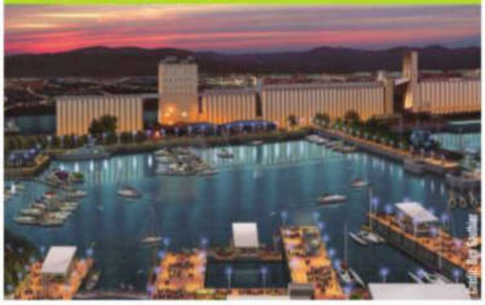

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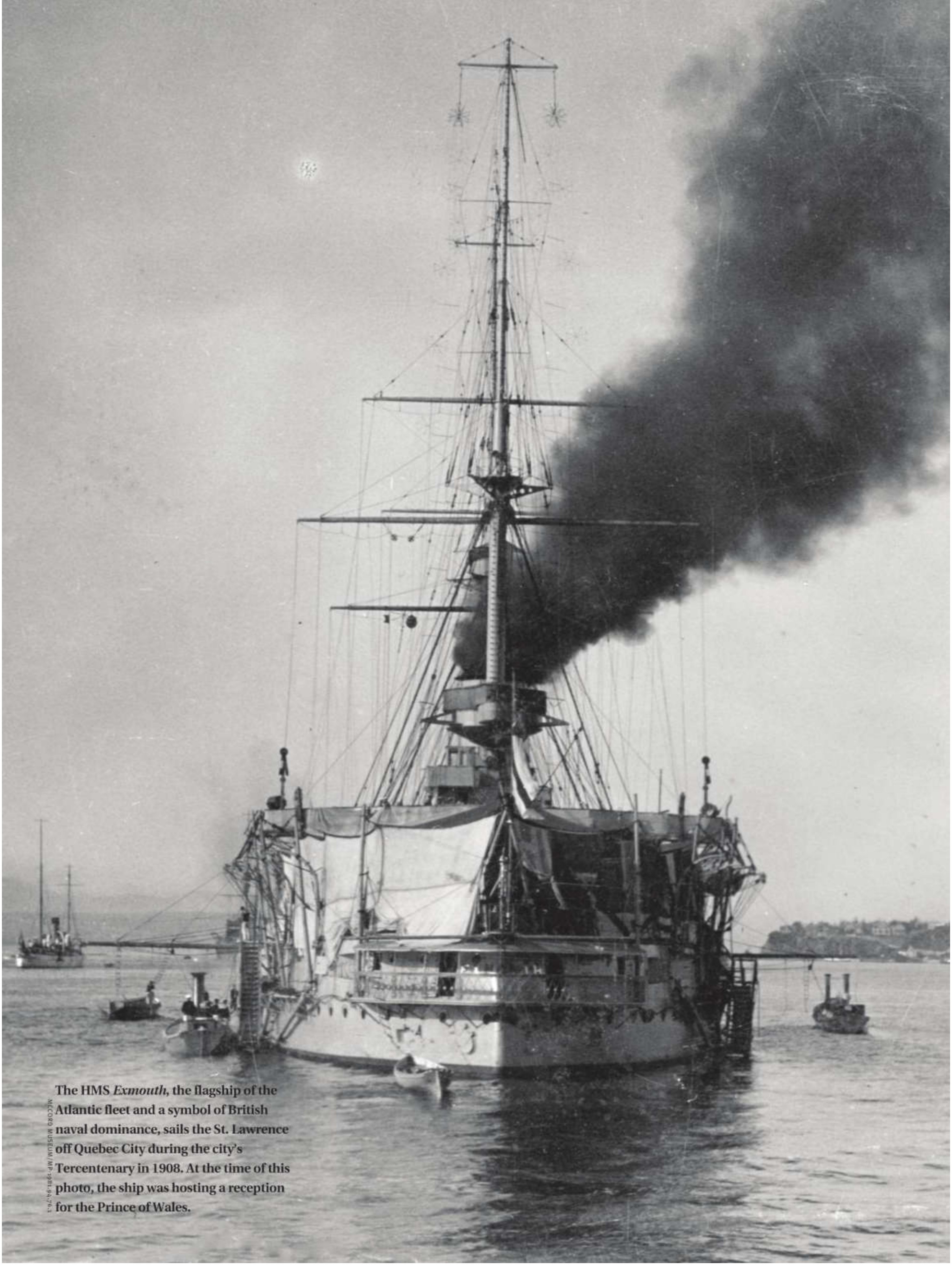

The HMS *Exmouth*, the flagship of the Atlantic fleet and a symbol of British naval dominance, sails the St. Lawrence off Quebec City during the city's Tercentenary in 1908. At the time of this photo, the ship was hosting a reception for the Prince of Wales.

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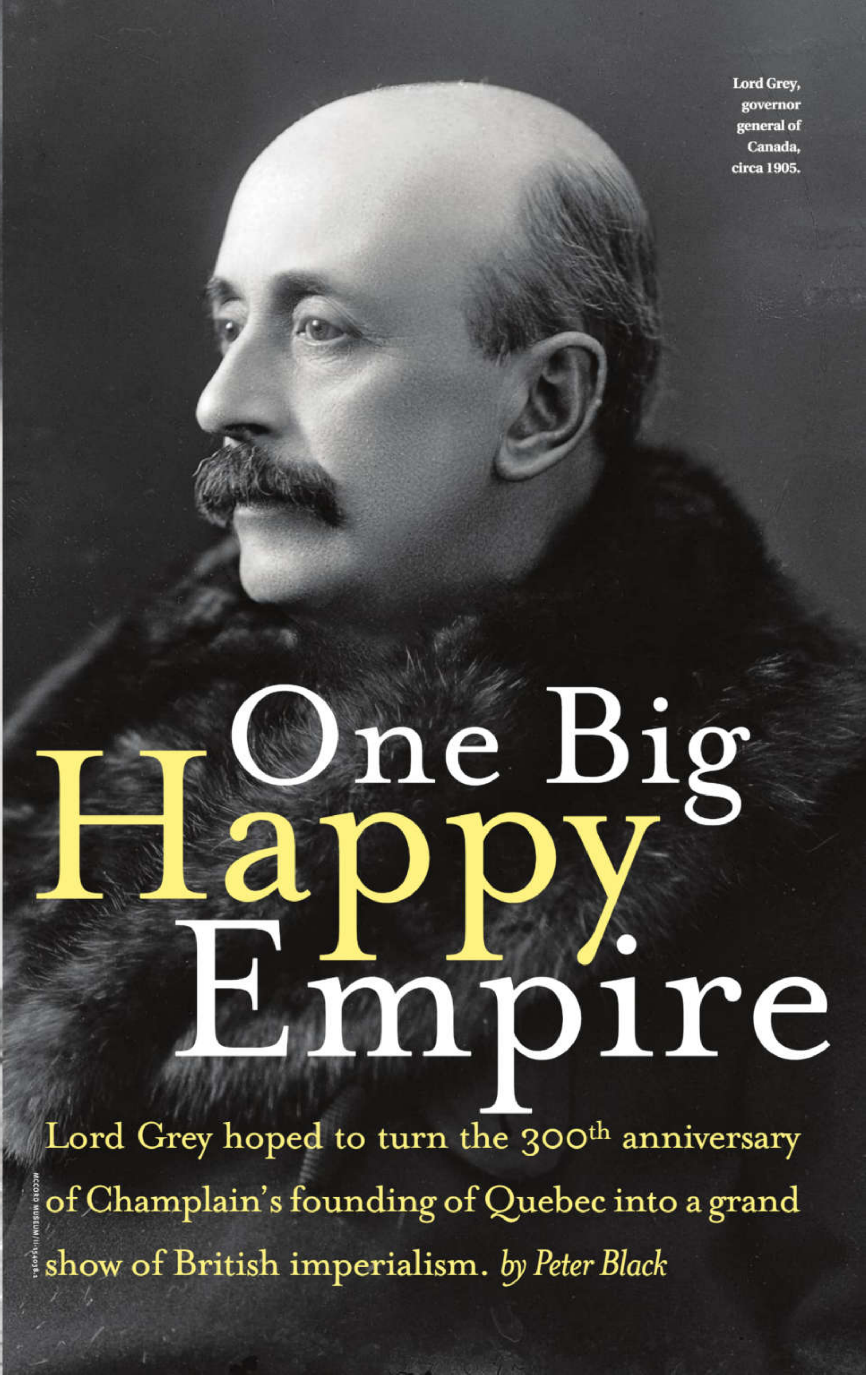

Lord Grey, governor general of Canada, circa 1905.

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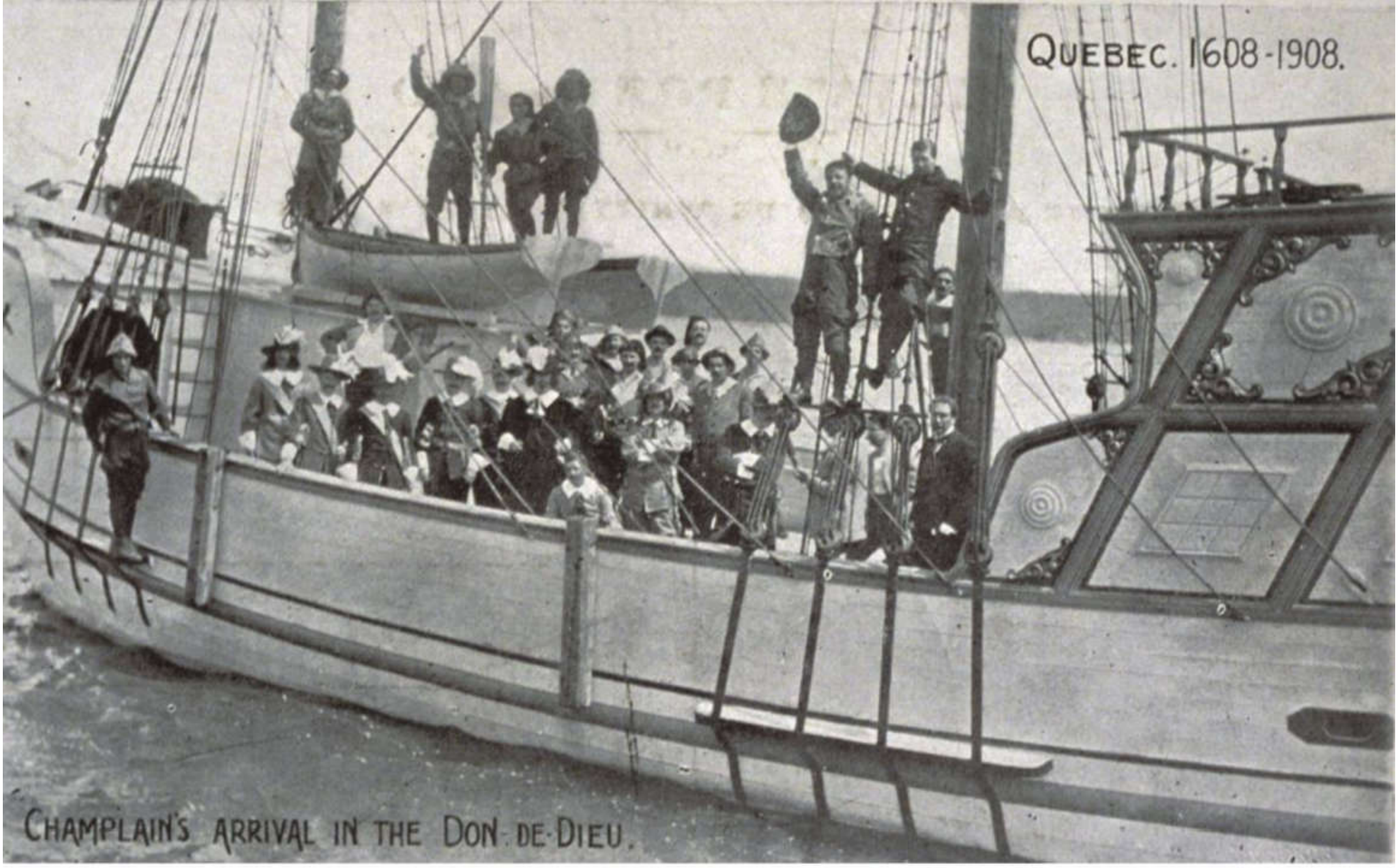
One Big Happy Empire

Lord Grey hoped to turn the 300th anniversary of Champlain's founding of Quebec into a grand show of British imperialism.

by Peter Black


QUEBEC. 1608-1908.
CHAMPLAIN'S ARRIVAL IN THE DON-DE-DIEU.

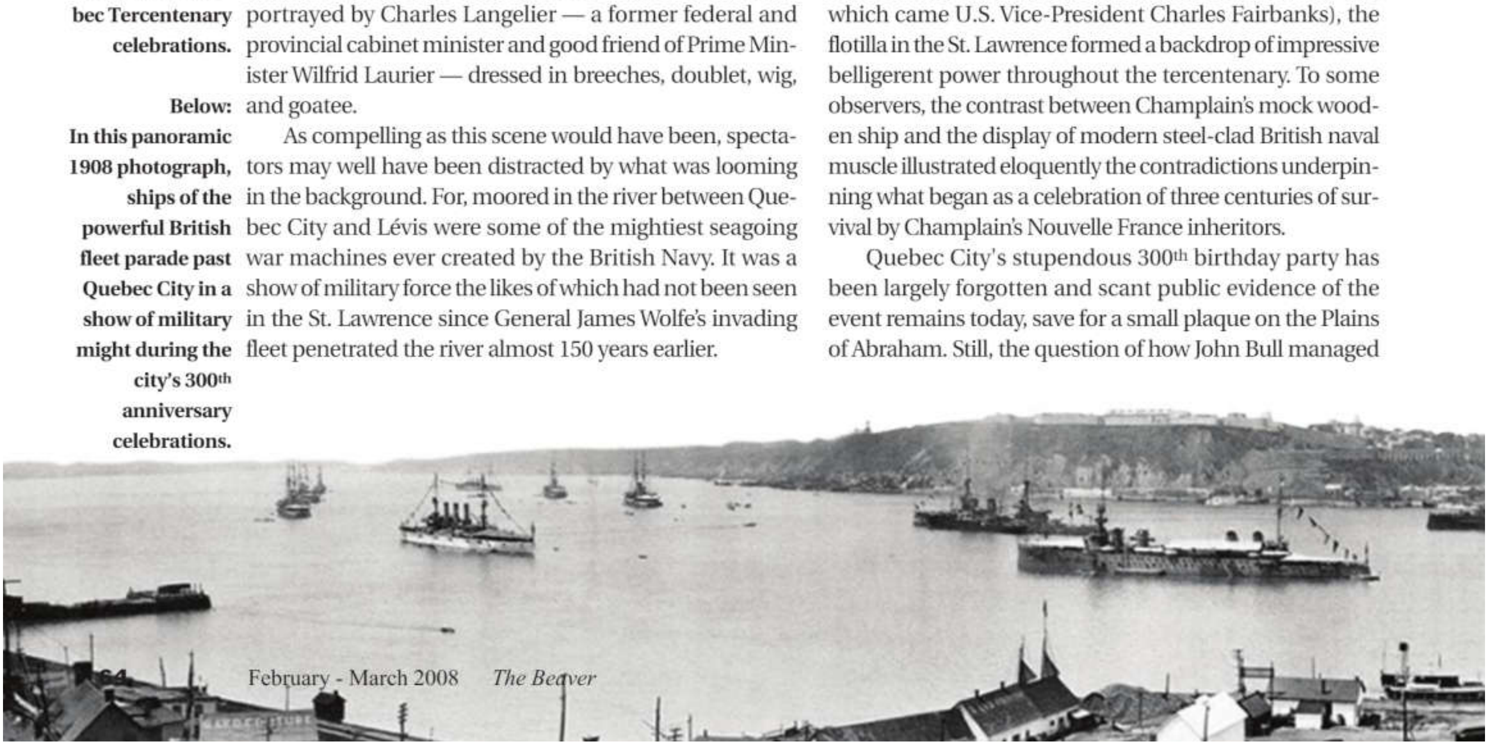
Above: Actors dressed in period costumes re-enact the 1608 arrival of Samuel de Champlain aboard his ship, the *Don de Dieu,* during the Quebec Tercentenary celebrations.

It was a sparkling day in July 1908 and the festive crowd gathered on the banks of the St. Lawrence River for Quebec City's spectacular tercentenary celebrations was witnessing a remarkable, if somewhat unsettling, scene. Drifting towards shore was a scaled-down replica of Samuel de Champlain's ship, *Don de Dieu*, accompanied by canoes full of authentic natives. Striking a pose on deck — and central to this historic re-enactment — was "Champlain," portrayed by Charles Langelier — a former federal and provincial cabinet minister and good friend of Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier — dressed in breeches, doublet, wig, and goatee.

As compelling as this scene would have been, spectators may well have been distracted by what was looming in the background. For, moored in the river between Quebec City and Lévis were some of the mightiest seagoing war machines ever created by the British Navy. It was a show of military force the likes of which had not been seen in the St. Lawrence since General James Wolfe's invading fleet penetrated the river almost 150 years earlier.

In all, eight British ships of the line had assembled in the river, including the HMS *Indomitable*, the brand new battleship launched but weeks earlier and dubbed "The Mysterious" by navy watchers because of the secrecy surrounding her construction in this age of arms buildup. It was *Indomitable* that had brought the Prince of Wales — a navy man who in two years would become King George V — to Quebec for the festivities. Combined with two modern French vessels and an American battleship (aboard which came U.S. Vice-President Charles Fairbanks), the flotilla in the St. Lawrence formed a backdrop of impressive belligerent power throughout the tercentenary. To some observers, the contrast between Champlain's mock wooden ship and the display of modern steel-clad British naval muscle illustrated eloquently the contradictions underpinning what began as a celebration of three centuries of survival by Champlain's Nouvelle France inheritors.

Quebec City's stupendous 300th birthday party has been largely forgotten and scant public evidence of the event remains today, save for a small plaque on the Plains of Abraham. Still, the question of how John Bull managed



Below: In this panoramic 1908 photograph, ships of the powerful British fleet parade past Quebec City in a show of military might during the city's 300th anniversary celebrations.

to crash Sam Champlain's fete persists. Indeed, two relatively recent books have probed the event. H.V. Nelles (*The Art of Nation-building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's Tercentenary, 1999*) and Ronald Rudin (*Founding Fathers: The Celebration of Champlain and Laval in the Streets of Quebec, 1878-1908*, 2003) examine in depth the politics behind this extraordinary celebration.

One figure emerges from these and other reflections as the driving force behind the form the tercentenary would eventually take. That instigator was none other than Governor General Earl Grey, the man most Canadians know as the donor of the Canadian Football League's championship trophy. With Lord Grey calling the plays, Quebec's tercentenary became an event of unprecedented grandeur, but also of potentially explosive political controversy.

Planning for a 300th anniversary party began innocently enough. The genesis of the idea came from Honoré-Julien-Jean-Baptiste Chouinard, the clerk for the city of Quebec. Chouinard, an amateur historian, wrote an editorial in December 1904 in which he called for an event in 1908 to mark Champlain's founding of the colony. The event would include not only historical celebrations, but also a surge of municipal improvements to restore some of the city's historic features, especially the Plains of Abraham.

Chouinard's appeal for a Champlain celebration was quickly taken up by the local Saint Jean Baptiste Society (SJBS), which was already planning festivities in 1908 for the unveiling of a monument to Bishop Laval, the religious father of Quebec. With energetic young Quebec City Mayor George Garneau at the helm, a delegation met Sir Wilfrid Laurier in Ottawa late in 1906 to make the case for major federal support. The prime minister was interested, but having battled bishops and bleus (Quebec Conservatives) all his political life, he was wary that such a bash might provoke Quebec nationalists if handled the wrong way.

COLLECTION OF H.V. NELLES

ARCHIVES DE LA VILLE DE QUEBEC

Above: George Garneau mayor of Quebec, 1906 to 1910.

Below: Honoré-Julien-Jean-Baptiste Chouinard, the clerk for the city of Quebec. Chouinard, an amateur historian, wrote an editorial in December 1904 in which he called for an event in 1908 to mark Champlain's founding of the colony.

Laurier would have preferred to hold off until 1909, when the Quebec Bridge then under construction was set to be completed. (When it collapsed in late August 1907, killing 75 workers, Laurier tried to use the disaster as an excuse to delay the Champlain festivities.) Nevertheless, Laurier made a tentative pledge of federal funding, which was enough to spur local authorities to form committees and begin planning.

Meanwhile, the imperialist dynamo Earl Grey was forming his own vision of what would be celebrated at Quebec's 300th anniversary.

Albert Henry George Grey, son of a top Buckingham Palace advisor, had been sworn in as governor general of Canada in December 1904. Grey landed in Canada imbued with a mission to promote the British Empire and, as a key component of that mission, to lobby the Laurier government to commit itself to building a navy to bolster the British fleet. This was sensitive territory in Quebec, where nationalists were still on edge over Canada's Boer War involvement. The issue had split Canada along English-French lines and prompted Laurier's deathless quote: "The province of Quebec does not have opinions; it has only sentiments." Grey, according to Nelles, recognized that he needed to change French Canadian attitudes first, and that "emotional and symbolic issues of nation and empire would do more for imperial unity than a dreadnought and, if successful, might in due course produce a dreadnought as well."

The new GG arrived at a time when the Treaty of Washington between Britain and the United States (1871), and the Entente Cordiale between Britain and France (1904), had created a powerful North Atlantic alliance in which Canada was a cornerstone. In this context, Grey quickly seized on a project that would in one stroke promote the British Empire, fortify the Atlantic alliance, stir an emotional attachment to the Empire on the part of French Canadians, and nurture a more assertive, unified Canada. The key was Quebec City. Grey, who spoke excellent French, was smitten with *la Vieille Capitale* on his first visit, but at the same time was appalled at the condition of some of its precious historical features, particularly the Plains of Abraham, one of the most hallowed grounds in the British Empire. Development pressure and civic paralysis had brought the fields to a critical state. Though the federal government, at the urging of the Literary and His-

The Fleet at
Celebration 1908
LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA PA

BIBLIOTHEQUE ET ARCHIVES NATIONALES DU QUEBEC torical Society of Quebec, had recently acquired a modest chunk of the property from the profit-savvy Ursuline nuns, a major effort was needed to preserve the Plains from being swallowed whole by urban and industrial encroachment. (Laurier himself was an offender, his government having established the Ross Rifle factory on the Plains in 1902.)

Grey decided to lead the charge to transform the Plains into a spectacular monument to the glory of the British Empire and its noble fruit, the nation of Canada, formed from two habitually warring races now united in peace. What better way, then, to celebrate that achievement than to capitalize on the upcoming anniversary of the founding of Quebec, which was also the anniversary of the founding of Canada? Grey elaborated a plan that included the creation of a huge urban historic park, a national museum, and, most spectacular of all, an enormous statue he called the Goddess of Peace. The Goddess would be erected high on the Plains promontory and would stand taller than the Statue of Liberty, replacing the ominous jail parked starkly alone on the site. In Grey's vision the Goddess would be "the first point of Quebec visible to vessels coming from across the seas (and) offer to the immigrant a welcome more worthy of Canada than that which is now conveyed by the horrible suggestion that Canada's gift to him is a chance of becoming a prisoner in Abraham's bosom."

Grey's other plans for "Abraham's bosom" included some bridge-building with the Canadiens for whom Wolfe's September 1759 victory was a bit of a sore point. The governor general, therefore, proposed that the site of the April 1760 Battle of Ste. Foy become an integral part of the future Battlefields Park. In that encounter, the French army rallied after the fall defeat and sent the British scurrying behind the walls of the battered city. The local SJBS had already erected (in 1863) the imposing Monument des Braves statue on the Ste. Foy site.

Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier and his group arrive for the military revue for the celebration of the 300th anniversary of Quebec.

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So enthused was Grey by the enormity of the opportunity the Champlain tercentenary project offered to boost the Empire and seduce French Canadians, he pledged to Laurier that he would personally conduct a huge fundraising campaign. Grey, however, had vastly overestimated enthusiasm for the scheme and his financing plan fell embarrassingly short (adieu Goddess of Peace). Clearly, the federal government needed to step in to salvage the situation.

Up until nearly the last minute, Laurier had been playing his tercentenary cards close to his waistcoat, and driving Grey and Mayor Garneau nearly mad with frustration. Indeed, Laurier did not fully commit the federal government to the financing and necessary legislation for the park and tercentenary until just six months before the July 1908 event was supposed to be staged.

At that point, preparations for the enormous, elaborate, twelve-day celebration revved up, with Grey working feverishly to assure British interests would be centre stage. As the event took form, critics were beginning to sense Champlain was taking a second seat to General Wolfe, sparking, in Laurier biographer Joseph Schull's description, "sour undercurrents of gaucheries and resentments."

For months, a small but influential conservative Catholic newspaper had been heaping scorn on plans for the festivities. *La Verité* dedicated itself, as cited by Nelles, to "unmask the game of the imperialists" which would see "Champlain evicted and Wolfe dominate."

Whipped up by a militant Catholic youth organization, grassroots opposition grew to the point where Mayor Garneau and Langelier were compelled to attend public meetings and reassure people that Champlain would be the leading man in the show and that average French-speaking citizens of Quebec would be included in celebrations. (As it turned out, on the eve of the tercentenary's official opening, the same Catholic youth group staged a large demonstration at the foot of the Champlain statue to deliver a strongly pro-Champlain, pro-Catholic message. Most political officials stayed away.)

This church-fuelled youthful nationalism threatened to undermine popular support for the event and exacerbate Laurier's mounting political problems on the home front. Grey noted Laurier's concern that "the priests are heading in a direction (that will) eventually lead to another abortive Papineau trouble," referring darkly to the Rebellions of 1837-38. The governor general, however, according to Nelles, "deluded himself that the tercente-

British troops salute the Prince of Wales during a military review on the Plains of Abraham during the Quebec 300th anniversary celebrations.

MCCORD MUSEUM/MP-1981.94.45.2

nary celebration might help liberate Quebec from the iron grip of ultramontane reaction."

Laurier's nemesis, the Quebec nationalist hero Henri Bourassa, wrote this assessment, before skipping off to Europe to avoid the tercentenary: "In my soul, there is not a shadow of a doubt, knowing Earl Grey as I have learned to know him in Ottawa, that he decided from the beginning to transform the celebration of the birth of Quebec and of French Canada into a grand historic reminder of the Conquest in order to show his imperialist friends in London that the new imperial religion has made progress among French Canadians."

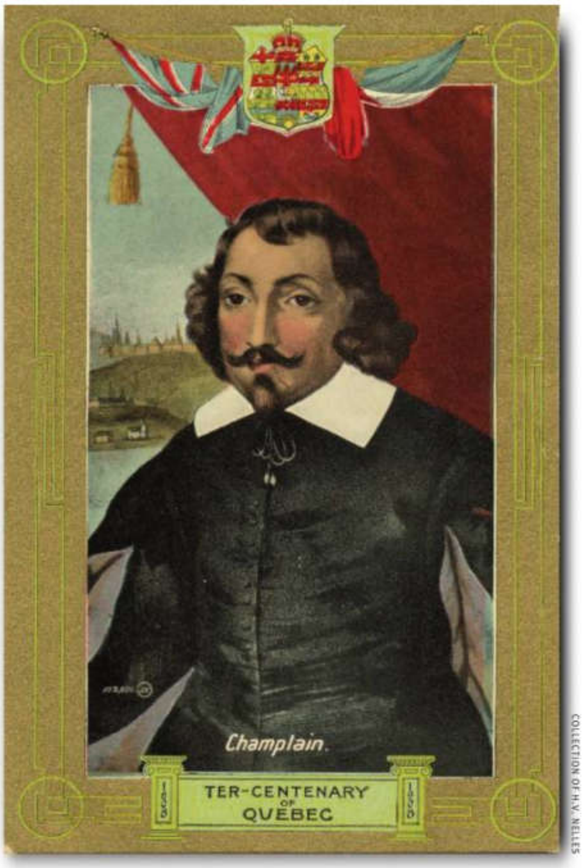
Regardless of these and other criticisms, for the most part Quebec's bourgeoisie hopped aboard Earl Grey's tercentenary bandwagon, bedazzled perhaps by the excitement of being the focus of the world for a fleeting two summer weeks. Even the bishops joined in — though at first they had misgivings about the representation of republican, anti-clerical France in the festivities. Grey succeeded in mollifying the bishops by luring the Duke of Norfolk to Quebec. The Duke was not only the leading lay Catholic figure in Britain, but was known to be pals with the Pope. As it turned out, the convivial duke was a smash with Quebec's clerical hierarchy. "He takes back with him the hearts of all Catholics in Quebec," Grey wrote to the Colonial Office.

By virtually all accounts, the tercentenary events were a success on the organizational level. Ronald Rudin concludes that the tercentenary "was the largest commemorative event ever staged in Canada" — and perhaps unequalled until Canada's centennial celebrations and Expo 67 in Montreal.

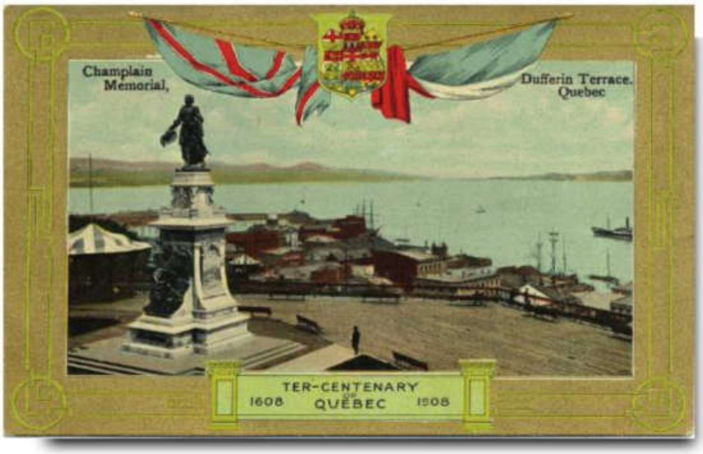
The statistics themselves are staggering. The little city of seventy thousand hosted (and housed and fed) at least 150,000 visitors, including about twenty thousand sailors and soldiers, plus dignitaries ranging from the mayor of Brouage, Champlain's hometown, to the governors general of Australia and New Zealand, to descendants of Wolfe and Montcalm. A part of the Plains became a huge 750-tent city to handle the overflow from the hotels and inns. Thousands of period costumes were designed and sewn to be worn by the armies of citizen-actors cast to play roles in the five elaborate pageants staged over the course of a week. A ten-thousand-seat temporary grandstand was built for spectators for the big Plains events, which included the pageants, an outdoor mass, and military reviews. There were costumed parades through the streets, an impromptu march by Canada's fledgling military corps, musical concerts of all types, and dozens of balls and banquets in the city or aboard any and all of the ships anchored offshore.

Then, of course, there was the Prince of Wales, a homebody who agreed to part with his wife for two weeks at the beseeching of his pal Earl Grey. The prince, also fluent in French, was the undeniable star of the tercentenary, and, as Nelles recounts, Grey was convinced that the "electric thrill" with which the Prince charmed the crowds, "helped to fuse the Canadians of French and British descent into a United People, to consolidate the Dominion, to unite the Empire (and) strengthen the Crown."

If that had been his aim, Grey's success was not especially long-lasting. Even as the battleships returned to their home ports, Europe was sliding towards war. Whatever fervour the tercentenary may have stirred in French Canadians fizzled in the face of what many influential Quebecers saw as a foolish imperialist adventure. Later, the fizzle would turn to fury with anti-conscription riots. Jules Fournier, a local editorialist, argued at the time that much of Quebec's population had stayed away from the celebrations, "identifying," in Nelles' analysis, "a sentiment that would surface much more dramatically a few years later with the outbreak of the First World War. Again on that occasion, while some French Canadians were prepared to support the war effort, large numbers felt no emotional attachment."



COLLECTION OF H.V. NELLES



COLLECTION OF H.V. NELLES

Quebec City's 1908 Tercentenary inspired a mini-industry of arty postcards, souvenir programs, stationary, and other keepsakes. The postcards (above) feature an imagined portrait of Champlain and the view of the St. Lawrence from the Dufferin Terrace in Quebec City.

The event also presaged a Canadian coming of age that, drenched in blood and sealed with sacrifice, would emerge from the Great War. Historian Laurier Lapierre notes that during the tercentenary Wilfrid Laurier "made good speeches in which there was one prophetic statement: 'We are reaching the day when the Canadian Parliament will claim coequal rights with the British Parliament, and when the only ties binding us together will be a common flag and a common crown.' "

Earl Grey's attempt to hijack the Champlain celebration as an instrument of his imperialist agenda may have backfired in the long run, but no one could deny that for two glorious weeks he had succeeded in putting Quebec and Canada on the map.

And, thanks in no small part to Grey's efforts, Canadians today enjoy one of the most beautiful, historic urban parks on the planet. Grey's "abominable" Quebec jail building remains to this day on the Plains, but it was restored and eventually incorporated with the museum he had advocated, finally built in 1933. The united complex is called the Musée Nationale des Beaux-Arts du Quebec. In the end, it seems, this was one of the aspects of nationalism that had triumphed over imperialism as a long-term consequence of Quebec's tercentenary.

Peter Black is a syndicated columnist and CBC radio producer. He lives in Quebec City.

Et Cetera

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Mapping Victory

As the Second World War raged, Allied leaders gathered twice in Quebec City to plot the Axis Powers' defeat. *by Serge Bernier*

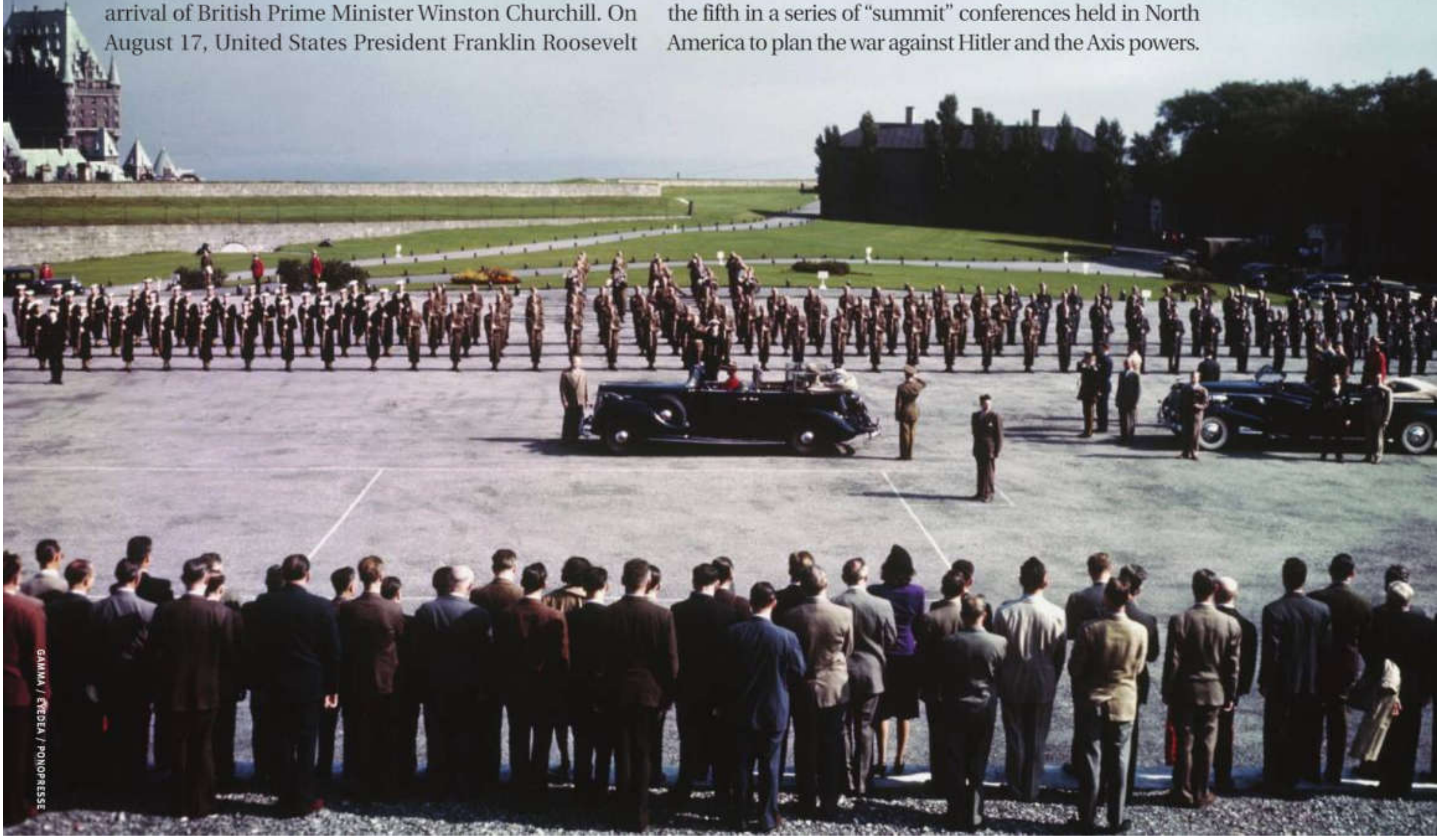
The people of Quebec City had shared their community with the military for more than three centuries, and had seen an increase in military activities since the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. Still, many were surprised when, in August 1943, the city seemed to swell with Canadian and Allied soldiers and marines in the Upper Town.

Soon military personnel were installing air defence guns near the Château Frontenac hotel, while Spitfire fighters began roaring overhead in regular patrols. Guards were posted around the clock at all of the hotel entrances. Visitors to the famous establishment discovered, to their disappointment, that the Dufferin Terrace was closed to the public. Despite the war, Quebec City was still a major tourist destination, and many hotel guests were asked to find alternative accommodations.

There was no official word on what it was all about until August 10, 1943, when a news release announced the arrival of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. On August 17, United States President Franklin Roosevelt arrived in Quebec City by train. Although their arrivals were announced at the last minute, the presence of such illustrious visitors — each accompanied by a large delegation — attracted many curious onlookers.

At this point in the war, Quebecers were well aware of the long lists of casualties that Canada had suffered at sea, in the air, and on land since 1939. Canada and its allies had suffered several disastrous setbacks. In December 1941, the Japanese had routed a Canadian demi-brigade in Hong Kong. Among the Canadian troops were members of the Royal Rifles Regiment of Quebec. Approximately three hundred Canadians were killed and nearly a thousand others were wounded or taken prisoner. Eight months later, Canadians led a massive raid against the city of Dieppe in France. Within a few hours, more than nine hundred Canadians had been killed and hundreds more wounded or taken prisoner. Many of the casualties were from Quebec City.

The Churchill-Roosevelt meeting in Quebec City was the fifth in a series of "summit" conferences held in North America to plan the war against Hitler and the Axis powers.



United States President Franklin Roosevelt reviews Allied troops in Quebec City during the Octagon conference in September 1944.

GAMMA / EYEDEA / PONOPRESSE

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From left: Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, American President Franklin Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and the Earl of Athlone, governor general of Canada, gather for a photograph at Quebec City's Citadel during the Quadrant conference of 1943.

The Quebec summit came at a time of cautious optimism for the Allies. In the summer of 1942, the Japanese had suffered serious setbacks at the hands of the Americans both in the Coral Sea and at the Midway Islands. In February 1943, the Russians had halted the Germans in Stalingrad, and three months later, in Africa, the Allies had also dealt the Germans some punishment. In July 1943, the Western Allies had successfully landed in Sicily. (The 22nd Royal Regiment of Quebec was part of the invasion force.)

It was a far cry from the war's early days, when the Germans swept across Europe and many feared England itself might be invaded. Indeed, even in 1943, Churchill's defiant 1940 speech to the House of Commons still rang true.

"What is our policy?" he growled at the time. "To wage war against a monstrous tyranny… What is our aim? … Victory — victory at all costs."

While Churchill, Roosevelt, and their immediate entourages were accommodated at the Citadel, most of the hundreds of other people who participated in Quadrant (the code name of the conference) were housed at the Château Frontenac. The Citadel also hosted the meetings, which were essentially between the English and the Americans.

Initially, Canada had wanted to be present at the conference. Roosevelt raised the possibility of other minor allies, such as Brazil, also wanting to attend. As a result, Churchill, who initially had been in favour of granting the Canadian request, said that the dominions, such as Australia, would reproach him if Canada were allowed in — so they were kept out. On July 25, 1943, Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King sent a message to Roosevelt indicating that his country would be satisfied with being consulted when the use of Canadian forces was under discussion during that particular conference. As host, he did not want to create any embarrassment for any other Allied country that was not represented.

But King was also very aware of the need to maintain appearances on the home front. In his personal papers, King recounts a private dinner with Churchill, held during the 1943 summit, in which he says he "got a good chance … to speak of my problem, which is Canada's problem — namely the need of our having the Canadian people feel that we were really having a voice in all matters pertaining to the war."

Canada's concerns were addressed by having the British and Canadian military staffs meet prior to the conference. Churchill also informed the Canadian war cabinet of the major decisions reached, following Roosevelt's departure. The journalists had set up in the Clarendon Hotel, a stone's throw from the Château Frontenac, and from there published their reports, which were limited primarily to the movements and alleged goings-on of the guests.

During the week of deliberations, from August 17 to 24, the Allies discussed their war strategy. Participants studied long reports on the proposed invasion of Normandy. The British agreed, to a limited degree, to transfer some of their naval units to the Canadians.

The discussions between the U.S.A. and Britain focused on the measures each side would take against Japan after the defeat of Germany.

The United States, which had been the major player in the Pacific since 1942, was leery of seeing the British adopt a stronger role in the region. Churchill definitely wanted a beefed-up British presence. They eventually reached a compromise, but the discussions were so tense at one

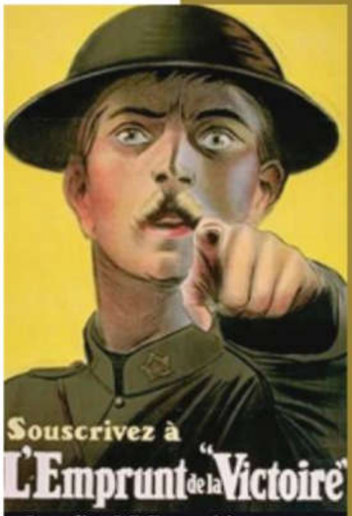
CANADIAN PRESS

Right: Canadian soldiers guard German prisoners captured at Juno Beach during the D-Day invasion of Nazi-occupied France.

point, that some of the assistants to each leader were asked to go into the anteroom — a situation which led to some humorous misunderstandings on the part of those sent outside the meeting room.

It happened this way: With the issue of Japan resolved, the leaders moved on to the discussion of a seemingly magical new material called pykrete — a frozen mixture of water and wood fibres — which experts thought could be used to build landing strips on water. Officials tried to demonstrate the strength of pykrete using a special chop saw. Moments later, people outside the meeting room heard glass breaking, followed by a cry from someone in pain — an official had hurt his elbow while trying to break the block of pykrete. The next strength test involved shooting a block of pykrete with a gun. One block shattered, but another block sent the bullet richoeting, almost hitting one of the participants. Outside the testing room, one of the assistants exclaimed that their leaders had started shooting at one another! Churchill would write later of the event that war was no reason why one could not have the occasional laugh. The conference was barely over when its conclusions were transmitted to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its leader, Joseph Stalin.

After the conference, Churchill went on a fishing trip at a site about one hundred kilometres from Quebec City. He continued to exchange telegrams with Roosevelt, some of which were rather humorous. On August 27, for instance, Roosevelt sent a telegraph asking Churchill to make sure any big fish he caught were weighed and verified by King. The next day, when New York reporters informed him that Churchill had caught a five-pound trout, Roosevelt, an avid fisherman, asked that it be confirmed by sworn statement.



Canadian WWI recruiting poster.

CWM

On August 31, before leaving Canada, Churchill delivered a radio message praising the great contributions that Canadians had made to the ongoing war. He added that their efforts stemmed not from any formal obligations but rather from a generous willingness to serve the future of humankind. King, in his personal journals, said that during a quiet moment with Churchill, he had asked the British leader how much longer the war would last.

"He said: 'We have got them beaten, but it may take some time.' I asked him how long. He said: 'One, possibly two years. On the other hand, no one knows what might happen in Germany. It might be six months, but there is also Japan.'"

More summit conferences were held, some with Stalin, before Churchill and Roosevelt met again in Quebec City in September 1944; at the time, the strategic situation had turned significantly in favour of the Allies.

To the east, the U.S.S.R. was poised to enter Warsaw. To the west, the Canadians, British and Americans had

Crisis Contained

Canada's tenth prime minister deftly avoided a repeat of the anti-conscription violence of World War I.

Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King faced a delicate situation when overseas conscription seemed necessary during World War II. While English Canadians were more accepting of compulsory military service on foreign soil, Quebecers felt alienated. Many were several generations removed from their European ancestors and felt the war had little to do with them. They saw it as a "British war."

Another factor was that military life was centred on English-only training, particularly in radio and other technical fields, which limited advancement for francophone soldiers. For example, there was only one regiment specifically created for French Canadians — The Royal 22nd Regiment, formed in the First World War. In the Second World War, the Van Doos were part of the 3rd Canadian Infantry Brigade and the 1st Canadian Infantry Division

During the First World War, the conscription issue triggered violent protests in Quebec. In one instance, a riot in Quebec City in 1918 left four people dead. Fearing a repeat, King looked for a compromise and promised during the election in 1939 that Canadians would not be conscripted to fight overseas.

The National Resources Mobilization Act (NRMA), passed in 1940, allowed conscription, but only for home service, not abroad. Thousands were conscripted and trained, but only those who volunteered were sent overseas. By April 1942, however, casualties were growing and it seemed apparent to the Canadian government that it would run out of volunteers. It held a plebiscite asking Canadians if they would support compulsory overseas duty. Overall, sixty-three percent said yes. But the plebiscite revealed a country deeply divided along linguistic lines — eighty-three percent of English Canadians supported overseas conscription, while more than seventy-two percent of French Canadian voters were opposed.

The plebiscite resulted in the government passing Bill 80, which repealed sections of the NRMA that disallowed conscription for overseas service. This sparked the formation of the anti-conscription Bloc Populaire Canadien. Among those who joined Bloc Populaire was a young Pierre Elliott Trudeau (1942–1945).

As it turned out, overseas conscription wasn't imposed until November 1944. Conscripts stationed in Terrace, British Columbia, staged a brief protest when they learned they could be forced to fight. But in reality, only 2,463 Canadian conscripts saw action in the field. And of those, just 69 died in battle.

Thanks to King's deft political manoeuvring and his refusal to take a hard line on conscription, Canada largely avoided a repeat of the conscription crisis of the First World War. King's Liberal party was rewarded at war's end by being voted back to power, winning all but twelve seats in Quebec. — Beverley Tallon reached Belgium and almost all of France had been liberated. In Italy, battles were raging in the north of the country. The mood in Quebec was more optimistic and security was much less visible than a year earlier. In his personal journals, King said towards the end of the conference that he felt confident about the Allies' strategy to win the war.

"I must confess that I feel immensely relieved in my mind as a result of this afternoon's conference, talks with Churchill, and the talks this evening with the President. I can now see the road pretty clear ahead...."

The conference, code-named Octagon, lasted from September 11 to 16. Although Roosevelt had initially wanted to restrict discussions to military matters only, it was inevitable that some political issues — such as Anglo-American co-operation on the nuclear bomb — had to be discussed.

Unlike other conclusions, the U.S.S.R. was not informed of this topic of the meeting, even though the two allies knew the U.S.S.R. was well aware of the Tube Alloys (code name for the bomb) program. Indeed, Churchill had long harboured a dislike of the Russian leader, at one time describing him as a "hard-boiled egg of a man — at once a callous, a crafty and an ill-formed man."

Unlike the 1943 conference, reporters were given the outlines of the decisions made. In brief, the Allies decided to continue strikes against Germany and its allies until they were defeated and then turn their focus entirely on Japan, with the British becoming the key players in Asia. The Canadian and British military staff met to outline Canada's military involvement in the Pacific after the defeat of Germany.

At the time of the two conferences, the inhabitants of Quebec must have felt their city was at the centre of the world. Although the city reverted to being a simple provincial capital on September 17, 1944, the strategic decisions made there in 1943 and 1944 will forever remain part of the history of the biggest war on record.

Today, two bronze busts — one of Winston Churchill and the other of Franklin Delano Roosevelt — sit facing each other on Chemin Saint-Louis, almost opposite the Côte de la Citadelle in Quebec City. The sculptures were unveiled in the fall of 1994 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the last of the two conferences held in Quebec City, during which the two men discussed the great challenges of World War II.

Serge Bernier is the director of the programs of History and Heritage at the Department of National Defence and president of the Canadian Commission of Military History.

Et Cetera

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Gaston Deschênes on

The motto mystery

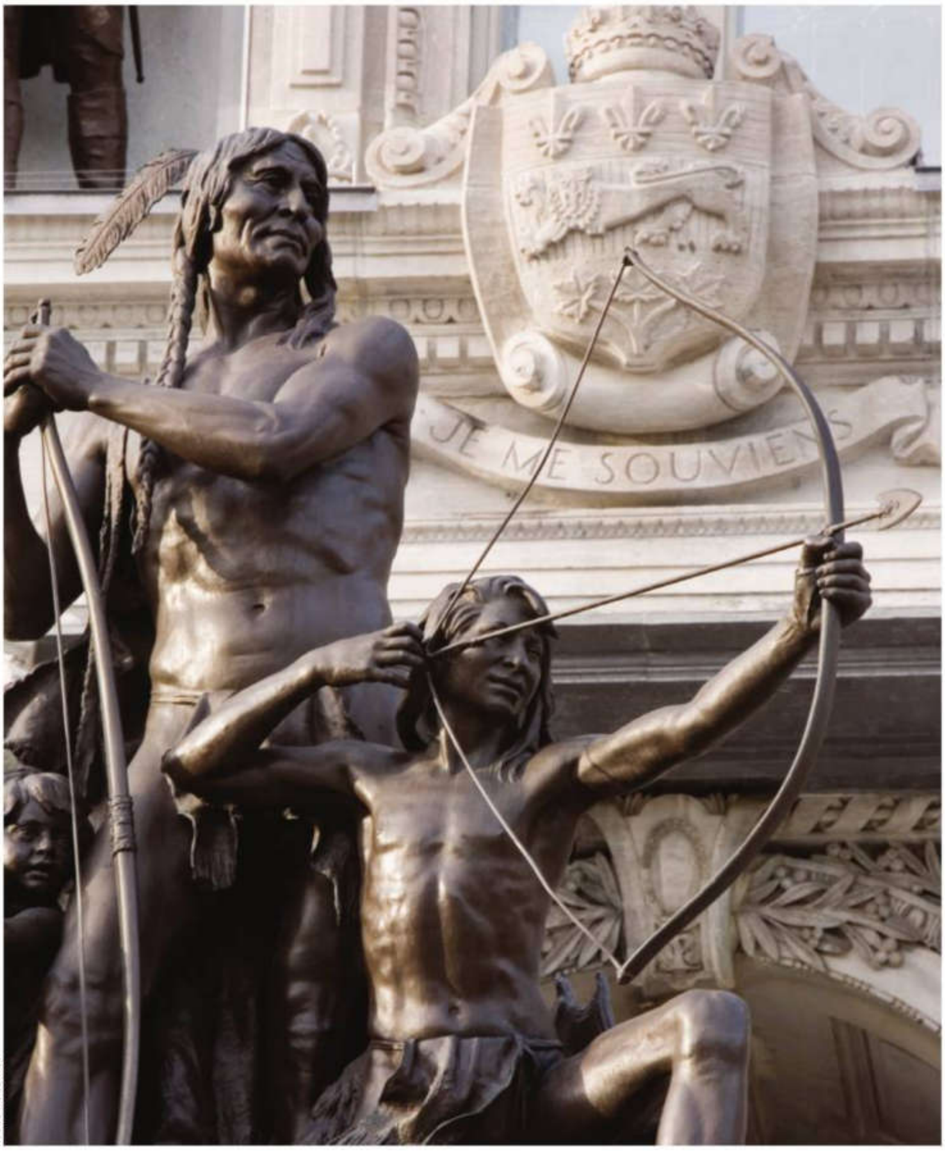
Deciphering the true meaning of Quebec's famous slogan, *Je me souviens.*

The motto *Je me souviens* (I remember) caused quite a stir when it replaced the slogan *La belle province* (the beautiful province) on Quebec licence plates in 1978. In power since 1976, the Parti Québécois had obviously wanted to remove the word "province," and few would have disputed its decision to replace Quebec's official motto.

The change was made without any public debate, as though it was a logical progression. The motto's meaning, however, was a mystery to many. What was Quebec supposed to remember? A *Montreal Star* vox pop poll revealed that Montrealers, for instance, had very different interpretations, including remembering the Conquest, a response to the Durham Report or even the PQ victory of 1976. By deciding not to provide any official documentation regarding the motto, the government certainly added to the confusion. Few knew at the time that the origins of the motto dated back to 1885, when it first appeared on the facade of the parliament building in Quebec City?

The motto's origins

Quebec's motto was created by Eugène-Étienne Taché, the architect who designed the provincial parliament building. Taché was the son of a former premier of United Canada, Étienne-Paschal Taché — a regional Patriot leader in the 1837 rebellion in Lower Canada who later became one of the Fathers of Confederation. A surveyor by training and the assistant commissioner of Crown lands, the younger Taché was a very cultured man with a passion for architecture. Although self-taught, he had impressed his fellow citizens and government officials by designing a series of *arcs de triomphe* for the bicentenary of the Diocese of Quebec and was hired to draft the plans for the new Parliament Building.



LOUISE BILODEAU

The originator of the motto that graces Quebec's parliament building, above, thought its meaning needed no explanation.

Taché drew inspiration from the architecture of the Louvre, including that building's incorporation of statues. He proposed dedicating the facade of the parliament building to the memory of the key figures in Quebec's history and found support from the provincial government, which was keen to focus the public's attention on the history of Quebec society and its status as a founding nation.

To decorate the main entrance, Eugène-Étienne Taché chose the coat of arms granted to the province by Queen Victoria in 1868, to which he added a motto he had created himself, *Je me souviens.* It's as simple as that. The government accepted Taché's plans, adding them to the construction contract signed in 1883, and they were subsequently carried out.

It's impossible to find any texts in which Taché explains the origin and the meaning of *Je me souviens.* He likely didn't feel the need, given that his message was so simple, and that the meaning of his motto was so obvious once placed in context. In a report he sent to the deputy minister of public works in April 1883, Taché provided an overview of the "collection of memories" that he wished to evoke through the decoration of the facade of the parliament building. This passage leaves no doubt regarding the meaning of *Je me souviens.* Taché wished to create a hall of fame in honour of Quebec's heroes and his motto was meant to encourage Quebecers to remember them.

The meaning of the motto

Appearing discreetly on the facade, the motto became an integral part of Quebec's coat of arms at the end of the nineteenth century (the government did not request royal authorization) and a simple government decree was all that was required to have it formally entered into the heraldic description of the coat of arms in 1939.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Quebecers had adopted Taché's motto, as seen in a speech delivered in 1895 by Thomas Chapais, a historian, legislative counsel, and minister: "The province of Quebec has a motto that it is proud of and that it likes to engrave on the front of its monuments and palaces. This motto has but three words: *Je me souviens*; but these three words, in their simplicity, speak volumes. Yes, we remember. We remember the past and its lessons, the past and its misfortunes, the past and its victories."

There are no records of a public debate regarding this motto, and Taché's contemporaries did not question its meaning. Until the 1970s, interpretations in Quebec were consistent, even if the state had never offered an official interpretation. In English Canada, the interpretation of the motto was generally the same: to remember "(the) ancient lineage, traditions and memories of all the past" (Association of Ontario Land Surveyors, 1934), or "the glory of the Ancien Régime" (*Colombo's Canadian Quotations*, first edition, 1974).

The other motto

However, after *Je me souviens* was introduced on licence plates, one interpretation that was already circulating through word of mouth in some circles gained in popularity, no doubt spurred on by an open letter by one of Taché's granddaughters that was published in the *Montreal Star* in 1978. The author of the letter claimed that *Je me souviens* was merely the beginning of a longer motto:

"*Je me souviens/ Que né sous le lys/
Je croîs sous la rose.*
I remember/ That born under the lily/
I grow under the rose."

This interpretation reappeared in at least one dictionary of quotations (*Colombo's Canadian Quotations*), in government information data banks and particularly in the English media. Journalists from the *Globe and Mail* and the *Montreal Gazette* were quick to exploit the political meaning and to point out the irony of Quebec licence plates reminding Quebecers "that they had flourished under the rose of England."

However, it has now been clearly established that the "poem" from which the "complete motto" comes does not exist and that it is, in fact, *two separate mottos* thought up by the same person. Taché designed the second motto — *Née dans les lis, je grandis dans les roses* (Born in the lilies, I grow in the roses) — for a monument that was never built, and then used the motto on the tricentennial medal of Quebec in 1908.

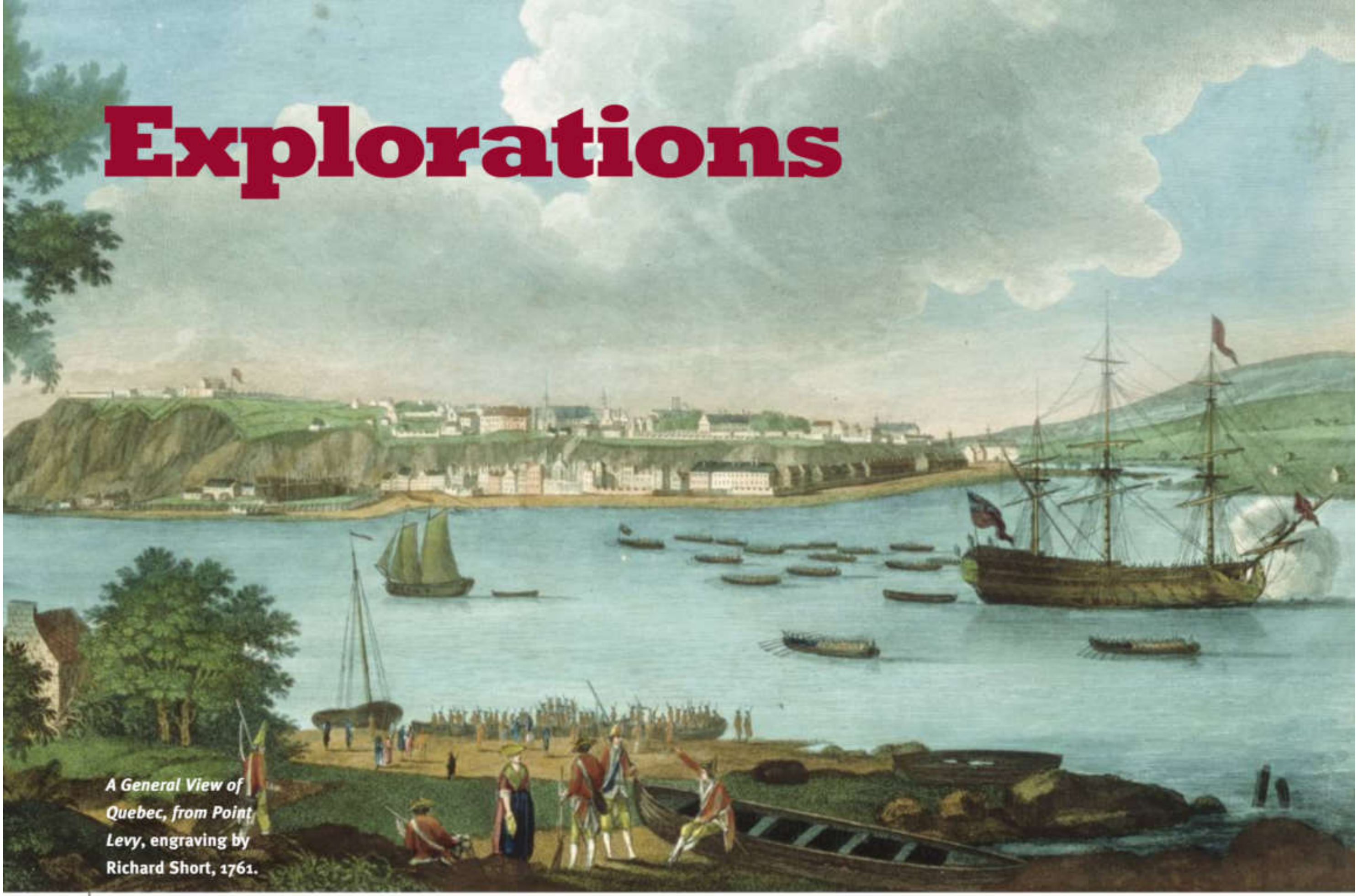
The most interesting witness on this matter is David Ross McCord (1844–1930), who commented on both mottos in his *Historical Notebook* around 1900: "However mistaken may be the looking towards France as a disintegrating factor operating against the unification of the nation — it may be perhaps pardonable — no one can gainsay the beauty and simplicity of Eugene Taché's words *'Je me souviens.'* He and Siméon Lesage have done more than any two other Canadians towards elevating the architectural taste in the Province. Is Taché not also the author of the other motto — the sentiment of which we will all drink a toast: '*Née dans les lis, je croîs dans les roses.*' There is no disintegration there."

This account by the founder of Montreal's McCord Museum proves beyond any doubt that there were two separate mottos that in no way shared the same meaning. So how did they come to be combined sometime between 1900 and 1978 and to promote an interpretation that did not correspond to Taché's intentions? It is indeed a mystery.

The history of Quebec's motto is nevertheless remarkably simple. It was born of an individual initiative by the architect of the parliament building, and it simply invited Quebecers of all origins to remember their history. Those who wished to give it a vengeful meaning or to use it in political debate were undoubtedly unaware that it had been engraved on the facade of the parliament building, at the feet of the statues of Montcalm and Wolfe.

Gaston Deschênes was a historian at the National Assembly of Quebec for nearly thirty years. He published *Le Parlement de Québec, histoire, anecdotes et légendes* (Sainte-Foy, Multimondes, 2005), which contains a chapter on the history of the motto *Je me souviens.*

Explorations



***A General View of Quebec, from Point Levy*, engraving by Richard Short, 1761.**

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Luc Noppen and Lucie K. Morisset on

The Chameleon of the St. Lawrence

Four hundred years of grand visions have shaped and reshaped the City of Champlain.

The Historic District of Old Quebec was designated a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1985 on the basis of its preserved ramparts and fortifications, as well as the former colonial city's collection of buildings dating back to the seventeenth century. A number of lavish and imposing landmarks — ranging from the magnificent Promenade Samuel-De Champlain to La place de l'Assemblée-Nationale — allow visitors to experience the beauty for themselves.

However, the district's apparent ancientness is in fact the result of restoration and revitalization work carried out during four hundred years of ever-changing visions for the city.

The present Quebec City, "*la capitale nationale*," is only the latest in a series of metamorphoses, from "Cradle of New France" to "Gibraltar of America," "Old Capital," "City of Champlain," and "Cradle of French North America." These various representations, or "imaginary landscapes," have been as influential as its actual history in forging the remarkable cityscape seen today.

Many historians regard the city as a palimpsest: a city in continual construction, whose layers reveal four hundred years of building and occupation. On this view, Quebec City's first layer stems from the contact in the 1600s between French and aboriginal cultures. Later, on the foundations of New France, appeared the city of the British garrison, which was beautified in the Victorian era, only to be modernized in the twentieth century in the wake of the industrial age.

The resulting Old City, with its multilayered melting pot of French, British, Canadian, and North American influences, also experienced urban renewal — its outskirts were whittled away in the 1950s and 1960s to make way for new road infrastructure and civic facilities.

Another historical perspective sees the city as a chameleon, constantly transforming itself to accommodate changing cultures and political ideologies. This Quebec City first appeared in the lofty plans of New France's eighth governor — Louis de Buade, Count of Palluau and Frontenac. A regular visitor to the court of Versailles, Frontenac announced in 1672 his intention of erecting the "capital of a great empire." His grand vision — including monumental buildings and institutions — was laid out to respect the "symmetry, adornment, and ornament" of the era's civic planning and ways of life.

It was on the vestiges of Frontenac's unrealized imperial dreams that the British constructed their headquarters of Lower Canada. Their building work culminated in 1830 with the completion of the Citadel, an impressive military fortification overlooking the St. Lawrence River. In place of the "crude constructions" they attributed to the previous French regime, the British imposed a visage imbued with the spirit of their mother country. Along streets lined with Georgian homes, in the area surrounding Place d'Armes, Quebec City was decked out in finery befitting the seat of governance established there.

Yet the metropolis in waiting saw its status slip westward, as Montreal, Kingston, and then Toronto reaped the benefits of the country's expansion. The Union Act of 1840 robbed the "ancient capital" of its status by instituting a rotating capital; then, in 1857, Queen Victoria officially declared that Ottawa would be the permanent seat of government for Canada. In 1871, in the wake of Confederation and with the Americans no longer posing a threat from the south, the city even lost its garrison. Still, the city's imagined greatness didn't disappear — the chameleon simply changed its colours.

A new entity — the provincial capital of Quebec — was born in 1867.

It was under the influence of self-taught architect Eugène-Étienne Taché that Quebec City underwent its first French renaissance, immersing itself in the era of its putative founders, Jacques Cartier and Samuel de Champlain. In less than twenty years, the city aged by several centuries, with its new institutional buildings inspired not by colonial New France, but by the more illustrious architecture of sixteenth-century France. This reinvented Frenchness blended with new place names borrowed from the colonial past, such as Colbert (after Jean-Baptiste Colbert, chief adviser to King Louis XIV), and Marie-de-l'Incarnation (after the founder of the Ursuline order in Quebec).

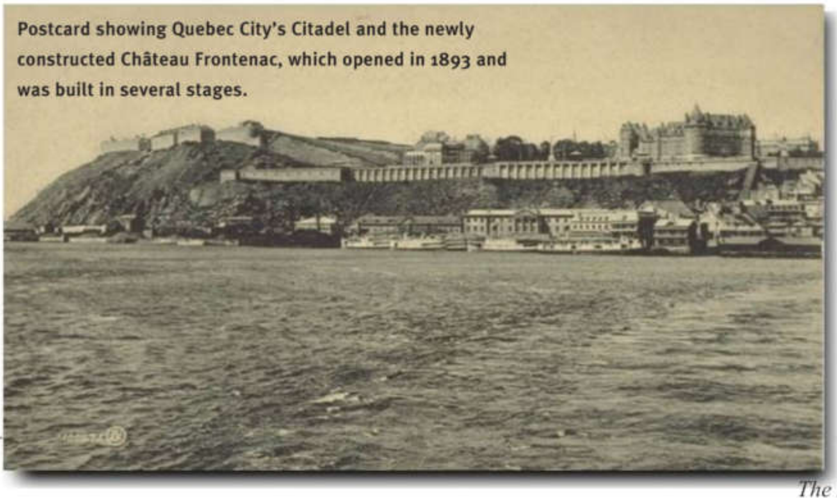
The intervention in the 1870s of Governor General Lord Dufferin helped to preserve the fortifications, but their restoration saw the addition of picturesque trappings such as turrets and battlements in the style of Carcassone, a city in southern France. At the turn of the twentieth century, having long since lost its economic duel with Montreal, Quebec City shifted the battle to familiar ground — namely, that of image. In tribute to the new North American lifestyle, the city received its own Broadway (rue Saint-Joseph) and Central Park (Parc Victoria). With the new Château Frontenac hotel and infrastructure like the Pont de Quebec bridge, the city was transformed from a gateway to the continent into a haven for visitors. Refurbished but resolutely historical, North American and yet French, the chameleon was ready to welcome the social and political forces of the coming century.

Louis-Alexandre Taschereau's francophile provincial government of the 1920s and 1930s created an urban planning and conservation commission modelled on Ottawa's National Capital Commission and set to work on provincial parliament buildings as well as other institutions influenced by the École des beaux-arts in Paris. The city faded considerably under Maurice Duplessis' Union Nationale government, but by the time of the Quiet Revolution in the early 1960s, Liberal Premier Jean Lessage was ready to create the image of a modern Quebec. It was during this period of urban renewal that officials launched a major restoration project for the historic monument that was Old Quebec. In 1963, as the restoration project neared completion, the area was proclaimed the Historic District of Old Quebec.

The federal and provincial governments had differing visions for the once again revitalized city, with the former seeking to emphasize its role as "the Cradle of Canada, its ancient capital," and the latter deciding instead to restore Place-Royale, the first permanent establishment in New France, effectively turning the Quebec of Confederation into the Quebec of Champlain and the "Cradle of French North America."

Its latest incarnation — the "national capital of Quebec" — sees the city adopting Paris as a model, complete with plans for avenues lined with embassies and diplomatic offices. This latest metamorphosis is yet another manifestation of the chameleon, which, despite its venerable age, continues to brilliantly illuminate all of its eras.

As we celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of its founding — and periodic refounding — Quebec City brims with the desires and ideologies worn into the surfaces of its stones and remains the diaphanous projection of our collective imagination.



Postcard showing Quebec City's Citadel and the newly constructed Château Frontenac, which opened in 1893 and was built in several stages.

BIBLIOTHEQUE ET ARCHIVES NATIONALES DU QUEBEC

Luc Noppen is the director of the Insitut du patrimoine at l'Université du Québec à Montréal and holds the Canada Research Chair on Urban Heritage. Architectural historian Lucie K. Morisset is a professor in the Department of Urban and Tourism Studies at l'Université du Québec à Montréal.

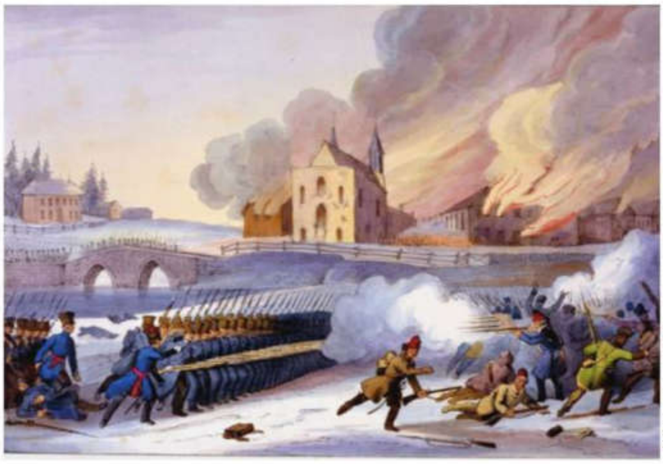
Christopher Moore

What's the Story in Quebec History?

The diverse views of Quebec's historians offer plenty of fodder for debate.

By an accident of the job market, this anglophone British Columbian launched his historical career working in French on eighteenth-century French Canada. The experience left me permanently aware that trying to see Canadian history without following all the history being written in French is to be blind in one eye — if not both.

I now live in Toronto, work in English, and write for English-speaking readers. It's easy to lose touch with the rich and ever-changing production of Canadian historians writing in French. Still, in the last few years, a couple of books about Quebec and its history and future have reminded me how intensely ideological history can become. Neither book has been translated into English, but together they speak volumes about the power that a historical argument can wield in Quebec — and about all the historical thinking that becomes inaccessible when we only follow Canadian history in English.



MCCORD MUSEUM/M4777.6

***Back view of the church of St. Eustache and dispersion of the insurgents*, watercolour by Lord Charles Beauclerk, 1840.**

The first book, now ten years old, is *La Petite Loterie* (*The Little Lottery*) by Stéphane Kelly. Kelly is a sociologist now teaching politics in Montreal, and he writes of a period that interests me: the years from the Patriote Rebellion of 1837 to Confederation in 1867. I would argue those years formed a moment of extraordinary progress for Quebec. In 1837, Quebec was caught in shattered rebellion, agrarian crisis, an autocratic and foreign government, and the systematic exclusion of francophones from power and authority. By 1867, Quebec had parliamentary democracy, safeguards for its language, religion, and legal code, an autonomous provincial government, and signs of economic revitalization. For the first time in more than a century, francophones held positions of substantial power and prestige in Quebec, and also in the new Canadian federation.

Stéphane Kelly, to put it mildly, does not see things that way. He takes his stand with the rebels. Everything Quebec's leaders did after 1837 looks to him like betrayal and assimilation to the conqueror's will. If francophones moved into positions of power, they must have been traitors. And that sets up his book's inquiry. How, Kelly asks, could Quebecers who had been rebel heroes become collaborationist knaves?

Kelly's no crude propagandist. His book is based on a doctoral dissertation; he has read widely in the sources and employs sophisticated theory from international scholarship. But he starts with what strikes me as a spectacularly wrong question — why were these men traitors? — and moves inexorably to a spectacularly wrong answer. Cataloguing the honours and titles political leaders like Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine and George-Étienne Cartier accumulated, he concludes they were hollow *parvenus*, corrupted by status, honours, and the "little lottery" of social preferment. They did it for the promise of a baronetcy.

Given how much better situated Quebec was in 1867 than in 1837, I thought Professor Kelly might have considered that maybe they did it for the good of Quebec and accepted honours and titles as a reasonable tribute to real achievements. But Kelly stands with those who see the fate of the Quebec nation, conquered and oppressed, as the only historical story worth telling and political independence for Quebec as the only acceptable ending to the story.

That vision — Quebec-as-victim, independence-as-solution — has been part of a rich and fruitful stream of Quebec intellectual life for a long time now. A second book I came across reminded me how lively and contested Quebec historical writing has been as a result.

Aux pays des merveilles (*In Wonderlands*) is not a history but the work of a journalist. André Pratte, who is the editorial director of the Montreal newspaper *La Presse*, mostly addresses contemporary Quebec, lamenting how Quebec often seems to offer itself only stories of a utopian Quebec of independence or a utopian united Canada, instead of a real Quebec and a real Canada. Pratte argues that often it is images of history that prop up the illusory Quebecs.

He draws on the historian Jocelyn Létourneau of Université Laval to argue for ambiguity and complexity of meaning in the history of Quebec. In his book, *A History for the Future: Rewriting Memory and Identity in Quebec*, Létourneau dismisses what he calls the philosophers of

Quebec's misery. "The Quebecois past has involved," writes Létourneau, "... a search for an optimal, satisfied, peaceful intermediate position between the spectre of assimilation and that of marginalization, much more than a desire to become completely independent or to withdraw into self-effacement."

Armed with Létourneau's ideas, Pratte is particularly hard on that stream of Quebec historical and political writing in which Quebec is always a victim, one in which the only true Quebecers are those who reject compromise and practise opposition *à outrance* — whether it is Lucien Bouchard in the 1990s or Louis-Joseph Papineau in 1837.

Pratte, too, has read Stéphane Kelly, and he can't help asking: Gee, didn't Kelly's traitors and sellouts actually achieve a lot more for Quebec by their political accommodations than Papineau got from a hopeless armed uprising?

Whether it is André Pratte versus Stéphane Kelly, or Jocelyn Létourneau confronting Fernand Dumont, Gérard Bouchard, and other seminal thinkers of late-twentieth-century Quebec, this is not an argument that will soon be resolved. For anyone who believes debate is the essence of history, Quebec's historians continue to offer much for the mind.

Christopher Moore comments in every issue of *The Beaver* and at www.christophermoorehistory.blogspot.com.

Et Cetera

Aux pays des Merveilles: essai sur les mythes politiques québécois, by André Pratte, VLB Éditeur, Montreal, 2006.

La Petite Loterie: Comment la Couronne a obtenu la collaboration du Canada français après 1837, by Stéphane Kelly, Boréal, Montreal, 1997.

History for the Future: Rewriting Memory and Identity in Quebec, by Jocelyn Létourneau, translated by Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 2004.

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The Bishop and the Bottle

François de Laval, Quebec's first prelate, waged a lifelong battle to stop liquor traders from exploiting First Nations peoples.

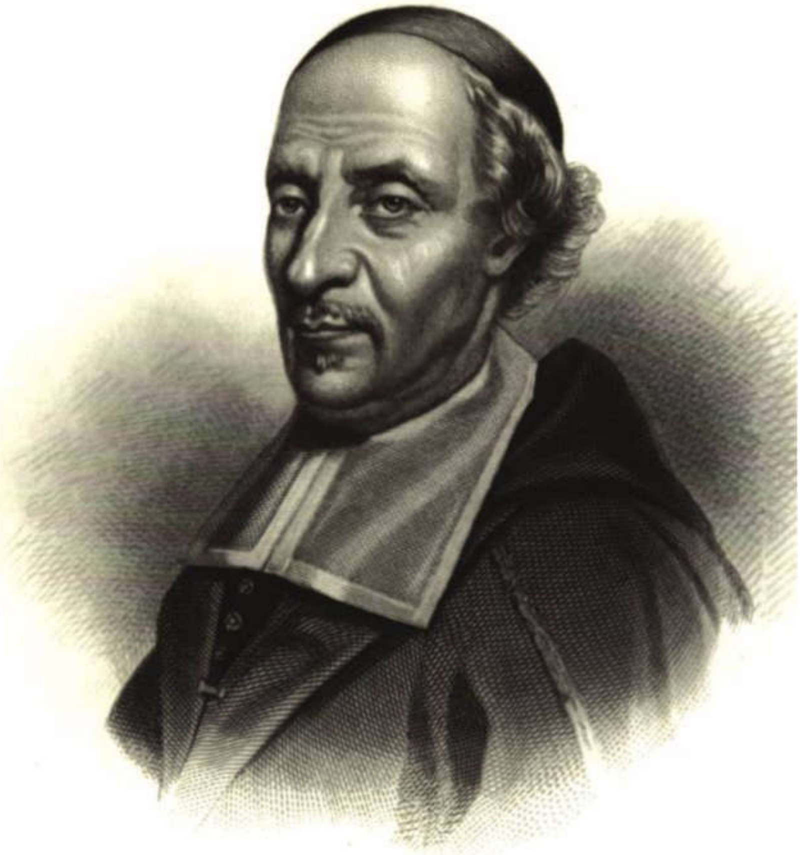
by Catherine Ferland

In New France, alcoholic beverages were served at all tables and acted as a balm against winter's intense cold. However, the availability of alcohol — and particularly the trade in spirits — was one of the main causes of public disorder and other social problems encountered by the Church in New France. Prohibiting the liquor trade, however, was unthinkable to many of the colony's administrators — providing alcohol to the natives helped the French maintain control over their trade relationship, and also helped them forge new alliances with aboriginal groups.

The alcohol issue became a key part of the power struggles pitting the state against the Church in the colony, particularly at the end of the seventeenth century.

As vicar apostolic (1658–1674) and later the first bishop of Quebec (1674–1688), François de Laval championed the prohibition of the spirits trade with aboriginals. Although he never touched a drop of alcohol himself, he didn't hold his flock up to the same standard, limiting himself to denouncing the consumption of alcohol during mass and trying to curb public drunkenness. His accusations mainly targeted traders and coureurs de bois, whose guilty commerce shamelessly exploited the fondness the natives had developed for alcohol.

In his 1912 book, *The Makers of Canada: Bishop Laval*, A. Leblond de Brumath laments the harm alcohol inflicted on the First Nations peoples in New France, and adds that alcohol abuse was also widespread among the French colonists as well: "The most crying injustice, the most revolting immorality, the ruin of families, settlements devastated by drunkenness, agriculture abandoned, the robust portion of the population ruining its health in profitless expeditions: such were some of the most horrible fruits of alcohol."



François de Laval, vicar apostolic of New France and the first Quebec bishop. Engraving by J.A. O'Neill.

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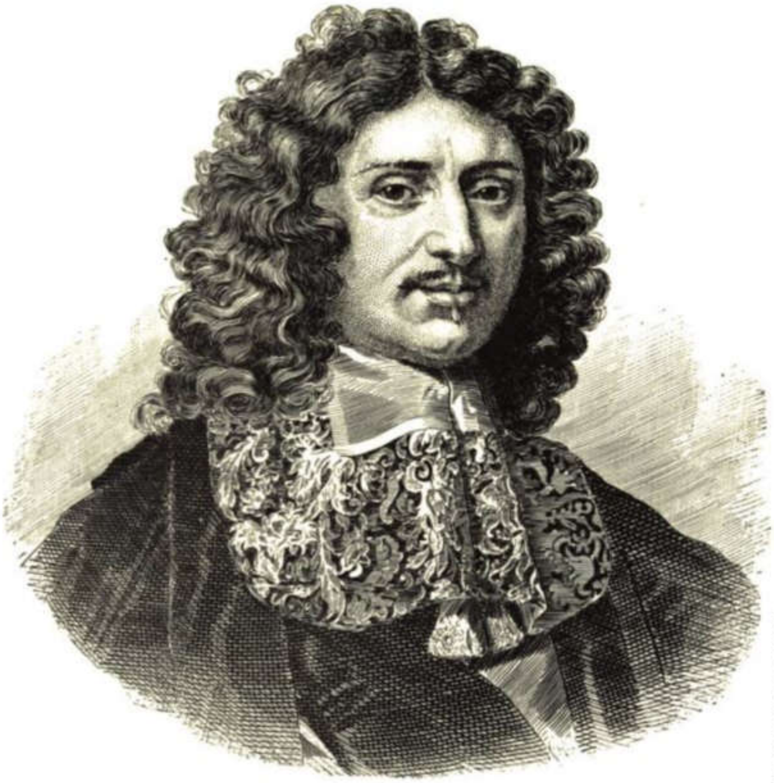
Laval launched an initial excommunication order in May 1660. Any sale, barter, or gift of alcohol to natives was banned, on penalty of exclusion from Catholic and parish life. The threat of excommunication was lifted the following year, but the behaviour resumed and Laval had to reinstate the order almost immediately.

To get further support and to counter the objections of the colony's administrators, Laval went to France and had his decision endorsed by what was, at the



Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the finance minister of Louis XIV. By anonymous.

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Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the French minister of finance, responded to Laval's concerns by demanding concrete proof of the harm wrought by excessive drink.

time, the irrefutable authority — the Faculty of Theology at the Sorbonne. During that same trip, Laval argued his cause before King Louis XIV, who agreed to officially prohibit the spirits trade with the aboriginals. However, during the prelate's absence, the trade flourished in Canada.

It was then that an unexpected ally appeared. As if in support of Laval, God Himself seemed to be taking matters into His own hands! In 1663, New France was hit by a series of violent earthquakes. The clergy quickly seized the opportunity to declare that the event was due to divine anger towards the spirits trade. Several traders made amends and many aboriginals converted to Catholicism following this celestial reprimand.

The following decade was a jumbled series of successes and failures for those fighting the spirits trade, given that the activity often benefited from the protection of certain administrators with vested interests.

For instance, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the French minister of finance, responded to Laval's concerns by demanding concrete proof of the harm wrought by excessive drink.

"I see," Colbert wrote in 1677 to Commissioner Jacques Duchesneau, New France's fourth intendant, "that the Count de Frontenac is of the opinion that the trade with the savages in drinks, called in that country intoxicating, does not cause the great and terrible evils to which Mgr. de Quebec takes exception, and even that it is necessary for commerce. ... In this matter, before taking sides with the bishop, you should enquire very exactly as to the number of murders, assassinations, cases of arson, and other excesses caused by brandy ... and send me the proof of this. ... In the absence of this proof ... it is not just (to ban the trade in alcohol)."

Others, such as the Ursuline nun Marie Guyart — better known as Marie de l'Incarnation — pulled no punches in her condemnation of the alcohol trade with natives.

"We preach against those who give these liquors to the savages; and yet many reconcile their consciences to the permission of this thing," she wrote in 1669. "They go into the woods and carry drinks to the savages in order to get their furs for nothing when they are drunk. Immorality, theft and murder ensue ...."

In an attempt to break the deadlock, twenty people of influence in Quebec were called to the governor's residence at Château Saint-Louis in 1678 to debate the main issues surrounding the spirits trade. The group decided to permit the free trade of alcohol, arguing that it should be treated like any other merchandise; they also said that alcohol played an important role in attracting aboriginals to the colony, thereby exposing them to religion and civility.

One year later, the king finally weighed in on the matter, prohibiting trade in alcohol outside French towns. Laval had no other choice but to accept this partial victory.

Weakened by illness, François de Laval was eventually forced to interrupt his crusade against the spirits trade. Bishops that followed him — Bishop de Saint-Vallier (1688–1727), Bishop Dosquet (1733–1739) and Bishop Pontbriand (1741–1760) — all had bones to pick on the issue of alcohol in the colony, albeit to varying degrees. Although the conflicts between the colony's temporal and spiritual factions seemed to die down somewhat in the eighteenth century, they nevertheless lasted during virtually the entire French regime.

Catherine Ferland teaches the intercultural history of alcohol and drugs at Université Laval, in addition to heading the "Paradis artificiels" (Artificial Paradises) collection at the Presses de l'Université Laval. Her current research focuses on the effects of alcoholic beverages, tobacco and other psychotropic substances on the building of Western identity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Elizabeth go home!

A 1964 visit by Canada's sovereign sparks demonstrations in Quebec City.

by Jacques Lacoursière

On Saturday, October 10, 1964, thousands of police officers and constables patrolled the streets of Quebec City and searched everything in sight, particularly the area where the procession of Queen Elizabeth II was to pass on its way to the provincial parliament building. There were only a few spectators and no crowds lined the streets. When the sovereign passed by, a few people yelled out, "Long live Elizabeth ... Taylor" and "Quebec for Quebecers" and "Elizabeth, go home!"

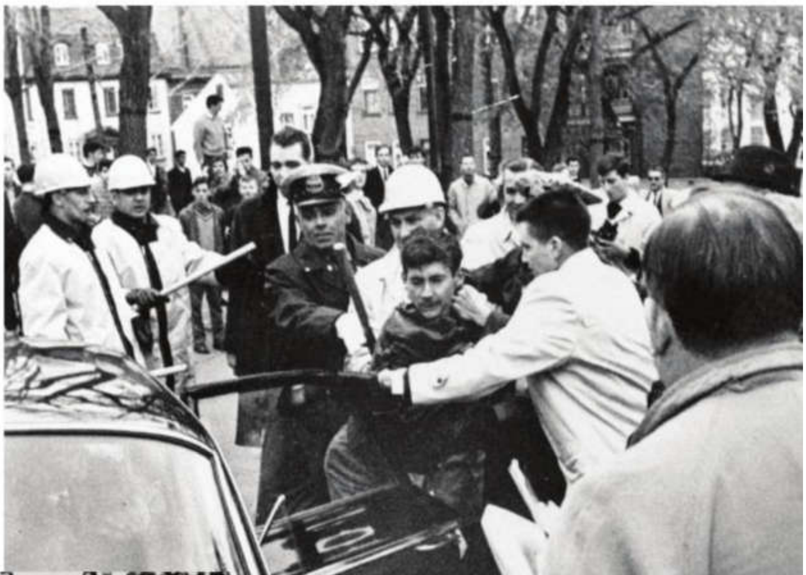
Despite the threats of violence, the Canadian authorities had decided to invite Canada's Queen to celebrate the centennial of the famous conference that had been held in Quebec City in October 1864 and that had been attended by the representatives of all the English colonies in North America, who came to be known as the "Fathers of Confederation."

However, the political climate in Quebec had changed dramatically since the early 1960s. Bombings had struck and, more importantly, the Rassemblement pour l'indépendance du Quebec, the R.I.N., had been founded. In fact, the day before the Queen's visit, the group had held an assembly that was attended by a thousand people. Following the meeting, a few hundred people decided to march in the streets, but, being unfamiliar with the area, they found themselves in a cul-de-sac where police officers decided to take advantage of the situation to make "preventive" arrests. The following day, the police response was much harsher. Saturday, October 10, 1964 is referred to as *le Samedi de la matraque*, or Truncheon Saturday.

Queen Elizabeth II arrived at the Quebec parliament buildings without incident. During her speech, she made an appeal for unity: "The Fathers of Confederation dreamed of a great future. Their work deserves to be continued so that the hearts that fuelled such an undertaking will not have beaten in vain. By serving Quebec's true interests, you will be serving those of Canada, just as Canada's true interests must serve those of the entire world."

The *Samedi de la matraque* generated widespread reaction in several Canadian cities. The separatists' threat regarding the future of Canada was condemned.

In mid-November, Liberal Quebec Premier Jean Lesage went to Toronto to meet the members of the Empire Club and the Canadian Club. While in Toronto, he stated on CBC that he did not think Quebecers were "strong enough economically to separate from Canada at the moment. And when we have the adequate economic strength, no one in Quebec will even think about it anymore because we will be strong economically and that is very important for Quebec's status." "In the end," he concluded, "separatism may only be an illusion!" However, René Lévesque, Jean Lesage's minister of Natural Resources, was not as convinced, given that the following month he tried to specify the ties that should continue to exist between Canada and an independent Quebec.



Above:

Police outside the Quebec legislature arrest a demonstrator as Queen Elizabeth II arrives for a state visit on October 10, 1964.

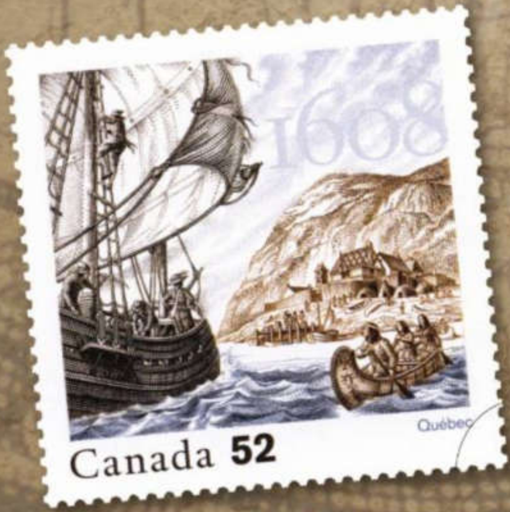
Left:

Queen Elizabeth II and Georges Vanier, governor general of Canada, tour the Citadel during the sovereign's 1964 visit to Quebec City.

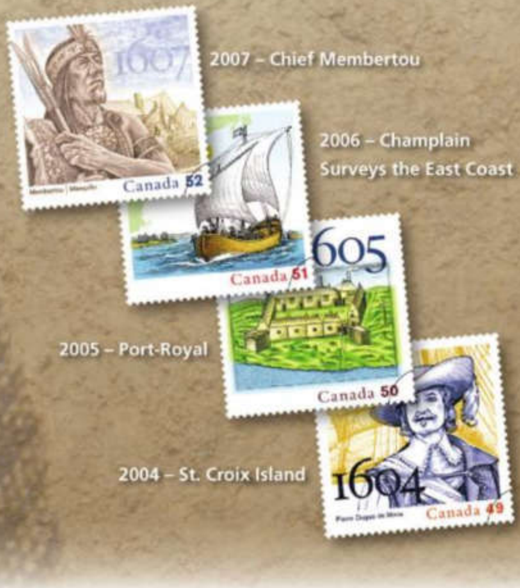
CANADIAN PRESS

Jacques Lacoursière's distinguished career as a historian, author, television personality and producer has earned him many accolades. He is a member of both the Order of Canada and l'Ordre national du Québec. He is also a Pierre Berton Award winner, and a recent recipient of both the Prix du Québec (Gérard Morisset Prize), and France's Samuel de Champlain award.

“No Champlain, no Québec”



2008 – Founding of Quebec City



2007 – Chief Membertou

2006 – Champlain Surveys the East Coast

2005 – Port-Royal

2004 – St. Croix Island

400 Years of French Settlement stamp series mirrors historical events that led to the founding of Québec.

When historian Arthur Lower wrote, “No Champlain, no Québec,” he succinctly claimed Québec as the birthplace of Canada.

While explorers from other nations might have visited the land prior to the French, it was the French who stayed. It was Pierre Dugua de Mons, Samuel de Champlain and others who came motivated first by exploration, then by trade, and finally by the vision of a permanent settlement.

Their Canadian adventures, beginning in 1604, were marked by death from scurvy at St Croix Island, the building of Port-Royal (whose re-creation is today a national park), the mapping of New England during an unsuccessful search for Florida, relationships with Chief Membertou and the Mi’kmaq people, and finally the founding of *Kebec* in 1608, the precursor of the unique Canadian destination that UNESCO has selected as a World Heritage Site.

This evolution of the French’s relationship with the New World is echoed by the five-year *400 Years of French Settlement* stamp series. It is evident in the narrative content of the stamps, but also is symbolized in the technical complexity, which increases with each subsequent issue. Striving to depict historically authentic elements in a fresh and modern way, the series begins in 2004 with a simple palette and single-colour intaglio overprint, evolving in production values each year, to culminate in the 2008 Founding of Québec commemorative, which boasts richly detailed traditional intaglio in three colours—the kind of stamp that makes history in its depiction of our past.

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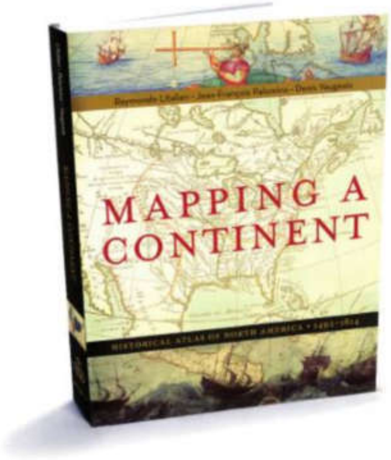
Reviews



CHARTING TIME

Mapping a Continent:
Historical Atlas of North America,
1492-1814
by Raymonde Litalien,
Jean-François Palomino, and Denis Vaugeois,
translated by Kathe Röth
Les Éditions du Septentrion
with McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 2007
300 pp., illus., $89 hardcover

Like many readers of *The Beaver*, I have long been a lover of historical atlases. My reference shelves include the classic, three-volume *Historical Atlas of Canada* from University of Toronto Press and three similarly styled atlases by the indefatigable Derek Hayes (on Canada, the Arctic, and explorer Alexander Mackenzie).

Would I need yet another work in this vein? I thought not.

But now, having perused *Mapping a Continent*, I see that I was wrong. By treating North America as a single entity, and by looking at the period from 1492 to 1814, this volume fills a gap I did not know existed.

With a good historical atlas, you don't read about history; rather, you watch it unfold. Here, you watch as the French, having settled the St. Lawrence River Valley, find themselves hemmed in to the west by the Hudson's Bay Company and the fur-trading Scots. You watch as they turn south and follow the Mississippi River to Louisiana and the Gulf of Mexico.

To see this happen, through a combination of narrative and maps, is entrancing — quite magical.

Yes, the book takes a European perspective — the only one viable. It opens around the time of Christopher Columbus, when, as far as map-makers were concerned, North America did not exist. According to a map of the world from the *Nuremberg Chronicle* of 1493, inspired by Claudius Ptolemy and the Old Testament, the earth centres on Jerusalem and includes an earthly paradise to the east where the sun rises.

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We realize that, from the outset, ideology drove map-making: For fifteenth-century Europeans, the world comprised three continents — Europe, Asia, and Africa — as originally divided among the three sons of Noah. In truth, of course, the Vikings of northern Europe had long since reached North America and had established a short-lived settlement in Greenland — but of this most of Europe remained ignorant.

Moving forward with explorers, we see North America appear on the horizon — first through a fog, but then more and more clearly. By 1678, as the quest for fur-trade riches and a fabled route to the Orient continued, mapmakers had revolutionized the European conception of North America.

The charts of Samuel de Champlain, Jacques Marquette, and Louis Jolliet, among others, caused mountain ranges to disappear, native peoples to emerge out of the forests, and a majestic river, the Mississippi, to take shape.

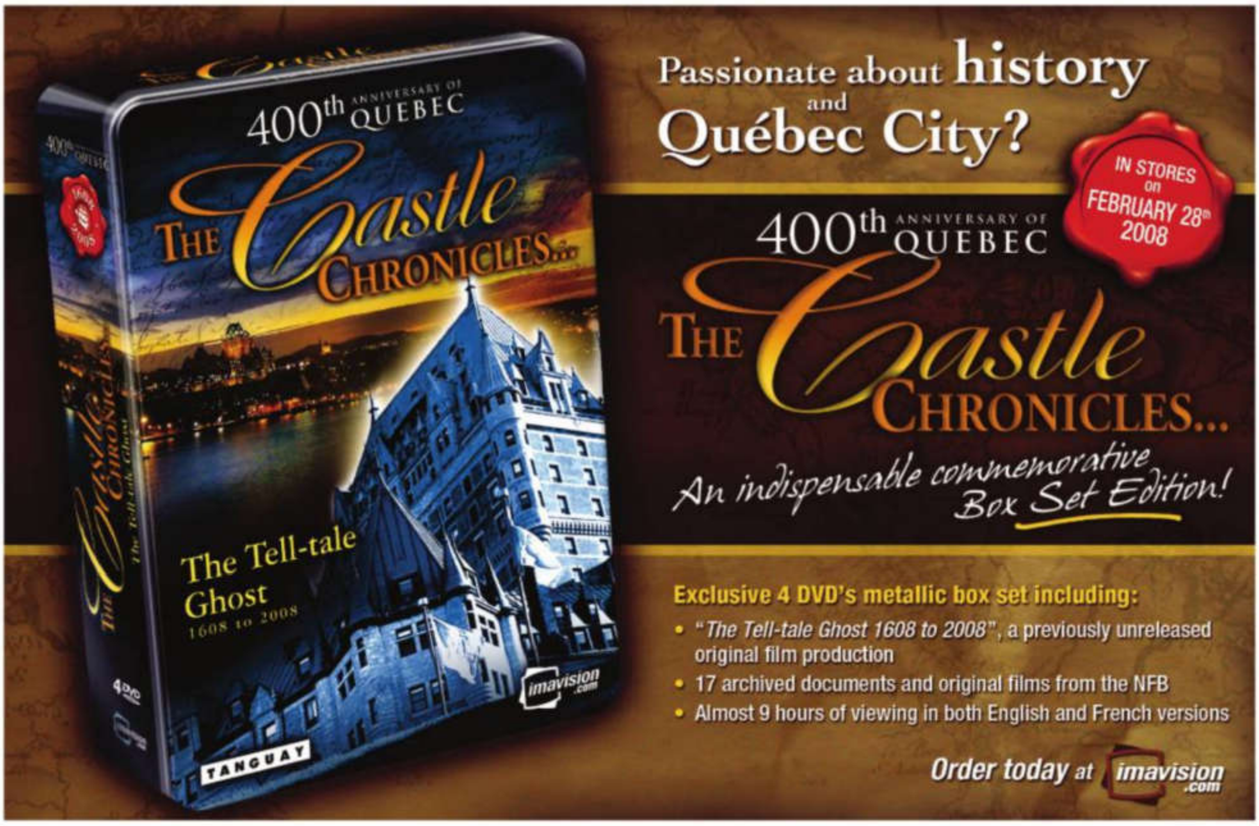
The authors show how, as the French, the English, and, later, the Americans vied for control of the emerging continent, maps became propaganda tools. One drawn from an English perspective has the British colonies covering far more territory than they do on a French map. And now we see why much of the border between Canada and the U.S. follows the 49th parallel — not by chance, but because that imaginary line roughly traces a watershed through the heart of the continent, with rivers draining north on one side, south on the other.

This book demonstrates, yet again, that geography is crucially important to history, and that a map can be both a synthesis of geographical knowledge and a symbolic weapon.

In that context, *Mapping a Continent* can certainly be viewed as history with a French accent. When the authors write, for example, of Samuel Hearne ceding Fort Prince of Wales to an overwhelming French force, they do not mention that the invaders then razed the fur-trading post, thereby wreaking pointless death and destruction among native peoples.

But this is desperation quibbling. *Mapping a Continent* is a prodigious work — gorgeous, authoritative, and necessary. May it find the vast audience it deserves.

Reviewed by **Ken McGoogan**, winner of the 2006 Pierre Berton Award for History. McGoogan has published books about John Rae, Samuel Hearne, and Jane Lady Franklin. In 2008, he will publish *Race to the Polar Sea*, and BBC and History Channel will broadcast a docudrama based on his book *Fatal Passage*.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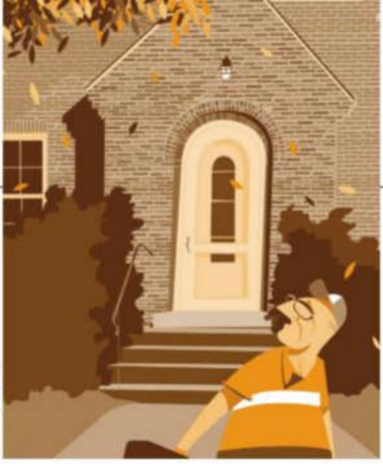
PASCAL BLANCHET

MORE BOOKS

White Rapids
by Pascal Blanchet
Drawn & Quarterly, Montreal, 2007
$29.95, illus., paperback

The rise and fall of resource-based towns follows a familiar pattern told again and again across the country. In *White Rapids*, a graphic novel-cum-historical vignette, award-winning cartoonist Pascal Blanchet provides an intimate and entertaining window into the life of one such village as well as the decisions made from afar that led to both its birth and its eventual abandonment.

It took six years for the Shawinigan Water & Power Company to build the power plant and dam that opened in 1934 on the St. Maurice River, as well as the "stately brick houses," co-op, churches, school, curling club, parks, and tennis courts that comprised the village of Rapide-Blanc, Quebec.

The "elegant little town, on par with Montreal's most stylish neighbourhoods," was key to the company's effort to lure workers to the remote wilderness. With a ski hill and beach nearby, hunting and fishing opportunities all around, and modern conveniences and appliances brought in by train, workers and their families enjoyed an almost idyllic lifestyle.

Blanchet's illustrations delight the eye and suit the optimistic mood of a bygone era. For, as we now realize, the very forces of modernization can silence the streets of towns like Rapide-Blanc. —P.K.

Mapping a Continent, *White Rapids*, and other terrific Canadian history titles are available from the History Society Book Club at TheBeaver.ca

The Beaver
CANADA'S HISTORY MAGAZINE

AN IMPORTANT MESSAGE FOR MEMBERS OF CANADA'S NATIONAL HISTORY SOCIETY

Effective January 1, 2008, we will be increasing our annual 1-year membership fee for Canadian subscribers to *The Beaver* from $29.95 to $32.95.

Our last price increase was in 2003. Since then we have faced increasing postage, printing, and production costs. A study in October 2006 by Magazines Canada indicated that lightweight magazines, like *The Beaver*, have experienced a cumulative increase in postage costs of 32% over the past 7 years.

As a registered charitable organization, the History Society's policy is to maintain subscription rates for as long as possible. However, we are no longer able to continue to absorb these additional costs and still produce the quality magazine you have come to enjoy every issue.

The Beaver continues to be a subscriber-fee-driven publication, despite continuing efforts to grow revenues through other sources such as fund-raising, newsstand sales, and advertising. With just over 70% of our revenue coming from dedicated members like you, the only option we have is to raise our membership rates. At the same time, we will offer gift subscriptions to members at a very reasonable rate of $27.95 per year for recipients living in Canada.

On behalf of Canada's National History Society and the staff at *The Beaver*, we hope you will be understanding of our position. We extend our thanks for your continued loyalty to magazine and the work of the History Society.

Deborah Morrison
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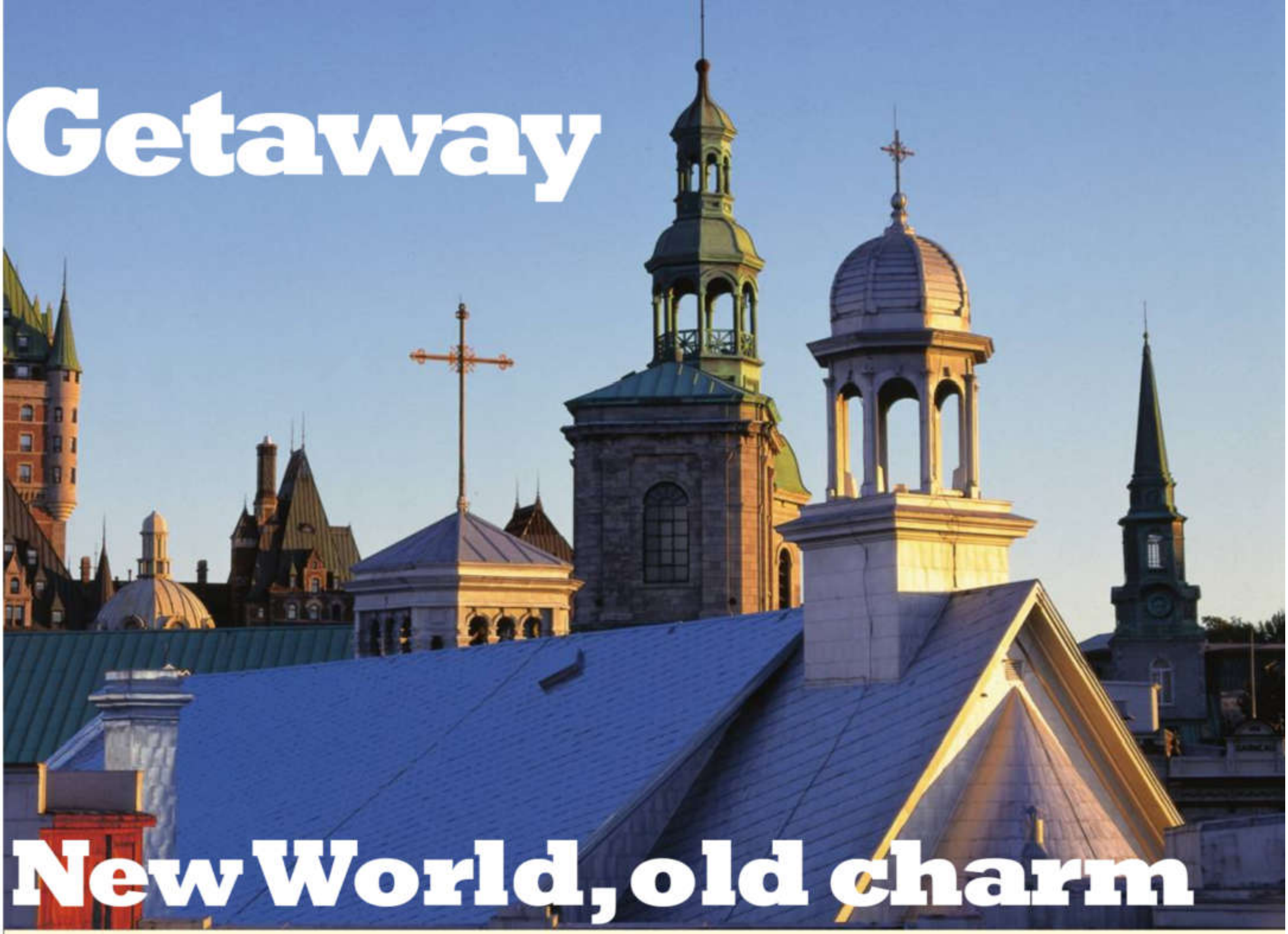


New World, old charm

André Pelchat explores the history and beauty of la Vieille Capitale

It's not a nice thing to say about a person, but for a city it's a compliment: Quebec City looks its age. This place has history and beauty like no other.

Towering above the St. Lawrence, the venerable capital, the very heart of French North America, is like a slice of Europe picked up and transported to the New World.

With its cobblestone streets, narrow alleys, and many restaurants and small shops, the city's four hundred years of history comes alive at every turn.

On this day, we approach la Vieille Capitale (the Old Capital) by water, crossing the mighty St. Lawrence by ferry from Lévis. The ferry departs every twenty minutes and rewards visitors with a breathtaking view of the majestic city Samuel de Champlain founded in 1608.

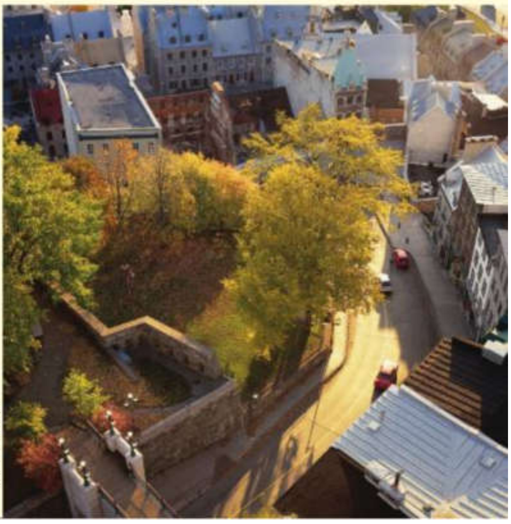
From Lévis' cliffs, the eye embraces the whole historic part of Quebec's capital city, starting with the Basse Ville (Lower Town), which lies at the bottom of the imposing rock mass that is Cap Diamant.

It was here, in 1542, that the famed French explorer Jacques Cartier thought he had found diamonds — hence the name of the cape. Unfortunately for Cartier, the diamonds turned out to be quartz.

Perched on Cap Diamant, growing closer by the minute, is the impressive Château Frontenac, said by some to be the most photographed hotel in the world.

The Château was built in 1892, just as Quebec was beginning its transformation from shipbuilding centre to tourist mecca. For Quebecers, the word mecca is especially appropriate, because, for many in the province, a visit to the capital is something of a cultural pilgrimage. Walking the streets of Quebec City — retracing the footsteps of Champlain, Montcalm, Frontenac, and the other historic heroes of Quebec — is a profoundly moving experience.

The ferry reaches the dock, and we disembark in front of the Batterie Royale. This stone redoubt, complete with cannons and surrounded by a moat, was built in 1691, but took its current appearance after improvements under one of Frontenac's successors, in 1712. In the wake of the Conquest, it was buried under the street, only to be uncovered and rebuilt in 1977.



LOUISE BILODEAU

Behind it is Place Royale, a square that replicates the one erected there in 1686. This was the heart of Old Quebec, the original marketplace where inhabitants met to trade furs and food, and share the news of the day. Today, it's surrounded by a collection of gorgeous stone houses, dating from the late 1600s to the early 1700s. A major restoration program in the 1980s transformed this formerly economically depressed area into a major tourist attraction. Visitors can now enjoy a museum of *ancien régime* architecture. Historical information on specific houses can be found at the Centre d'interprétation de la Place Royale.

A key landmark is the Notre-Dame-des-Victoires church. Built in 1688, it earned the name "Notre-Dame-de-la-Victoire" after Frontenac's victory over Sir William Phips, the Massachusetts governor who tried to conquer Quebec in 1690. It was during this battle that Frontenac uttered what is likely the most famous sentence in the history of New France: *Je vous répondrai par la bouche de mes canons* (I will reply from the mouth of my cannons.)

The church's name was altered slightly, from Our Lady of Victory to Our Lady of Victories, after British Admiral Hovenden Walker's failed invasion in 1711.

Looking down, you can see dark lines on the cobblestones surrounding the church, which show the contours of Champlain's original 1608 habitation. Archaeologists have found that the building was almost directly under the church. "This is where it all began," one tour guide said, pointing at the marks with his finger.

We head to a purple-roofed house, which used to be the residence of Louis Jolliet — the explorer who discovered the Mississippi River in the 1670s. Taking the funicular, we ride the elevator up the side of the cliff to the Dufferin Terrace.

In a few moments, our journey from the Basse-Ville to the Haute-Ville is complete.

Constantly occupied by musicians, jugglers, and artists, the Dufferin Terrace offers a sweeping panoramic view of the river and the surrounding low hills of the region. Far below, the brilliant blue river is alive with ships and sailboats of all sorts.

Hordes of tourists pass by a display of old sepia-toned photos from the Victorian era. Even then, visitors were attracted to the romance and grandeur of the terrace walk.

In Quebec City, the community's history is displayed in concentric circles, ever-expanding from the heart of the Old City. Outside its famous fortified walls, French architecture gives way to stately Victorian homes, a result of the British occupation of New France. The further afield you travel from the Old City, the more modern the buildings become, until the transformation from la Vieille Capitale to the modern capital of Quebec — with a population of more than six hundred thousand people — is complete.

One visit is not enough to begin taking in all that is Quebec City.

The museums alone are reason enough to come. Among our favourites are the Musée de Québec, on the Grande Allée, with its impressive collection of Quebec Art, and the Musée de la Civilisation, in the Basse-Ville, with its interactive displays of the history of day-to-day life.

Then there are the restaurants, the culture, the city's many festivals, and the nightlife. Where does one begin?

In the heart of the Old City stands a gigantic bronze statue, erected in 1898, of the founder of this great city. What would Samuel de Champlain think of the modern-day version of the city he founded so many years ago?

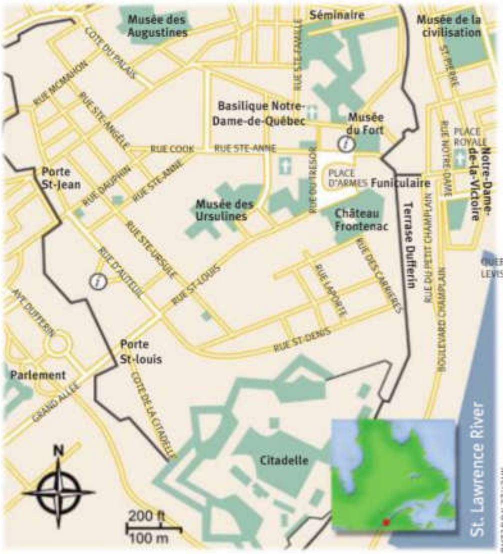
Surrounded by this perfect blend of past and present, so full of life and charm, we're sure he would approve.

André Pelchat is the author of *Histoires à dormir debout!* a collection of strange but true tales. He has also been a tour guide.

LOUISE BILODEAU

IF YOU GO...

By water: The ferry between Quebec and Lévis operates year-round. The voyage to Quebec City takes about ten minutes and the ferry runs until 2 a.m. It uses a graduated fare system, with children under five travelling for free and adults paying as much as $2.65 for a one-way trip. Departure and frequencies vary between high season (April 1 to December 14) and low season (December 15 to March 31).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The jagged coastline of the Charlevoix region is a great place for an adventurous walk.

Eden on the St. Lawrence

Ilona Kauremszky revels in the beauty of Champlain's cursed paradise.

Stuck in the ruddy muck that beached his ship in low tide, the story goes how Samuel de Champlain swiftly cursed this unlucky bay, "*La malle baye*!" When high tide returned he continued sailing up the St. Lawrence.

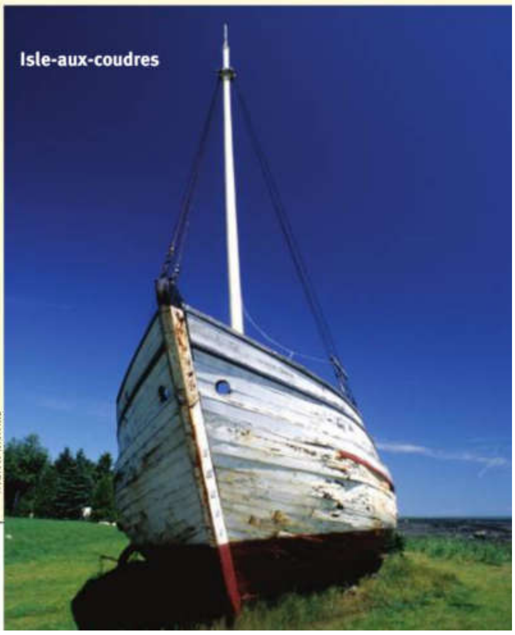
While La Malbaie received a bad rap from Champlain, the founder of Quebec City, the Charlevoix-region town would later become a favourite among the Gilded Age glitterati, who arrived en masse between the 1870s and 1890s for pleasure trips and summer retreats to the pastoral valleys between the rolling Laurentians.

We can thank two Scottish highlanders for recognizing its beauty. In 1762, officers John Nairne and Malcolm Fraser received plots of land for their service to the Crown. They created lavish estates and named the area, located 150 kilometres northeast of Quebec City, Mount Murray and Murray Bay, in honour of Governor James Murray. Fishing and fur trapping were all the rage for guests, who were warmly received by their distinguished hosts at what became Canada's first resort community.

Driving from Quebec City along the St. Lawrence, we made our way to the River Route 362 to experience the awe-inspiring views of the mountains and *la mer* that tugged at the heartstrings of Canada's earliest outdoor adventurers.

During the mid–1800s, steamships furnished as floating palaces were packed with moneyed Americans who craved the scenic splendour of fjords and isolated aboriginal settlements while they plied this route called the Royal Road. One frequent traveller, the journalist Arthur Buies (1840–1901), commented on how the three-day round-trip Saguenay excursion that anchored at La Malbaie was "the most picturesque and the most poetic of watering places, Canada's Eden, the poet's dream."

While the steamships are long gone, remnants of the area's rich nautical past can be viewed at the Charlevoix Maritime Museum in Saint-Joseph-de-la-Rive. Here, we discovered the rare shipbuilding techniques of *goélettes* (flat-bottomed schooners) and learned how the Charlevoix region was considered Quebec's shipbuilding capital.



Isle-aux-coudres

SYLVAIN MAJEAU

SYLVAIN MAIEAU

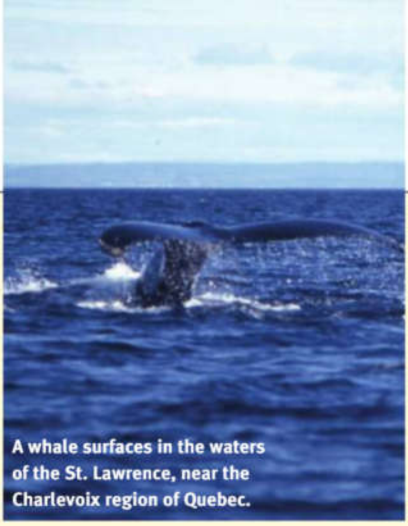
"Throughout all the small villages they built ships," said Charles Roberge, a local historian. He recalled how as a young boy he visited the nearby Île aux Coudres (Hazelnut Island) without a ferry service. "We crossed the St. Lawrence River by wooden boat. The waves were very choppy. The people here speak about the river as *la mer*."

Accompanied by brisk salty sea breezes, we resumed our journey to Pointe-au-Pic, where, atop a cliff, the luxurious Manoir Richelieu appeared like a jewel in a crown. Erected by the Canadian Steamship Line for its well-heeled patrons, the hotel was the talk of the social circuit when it first opened in 1899.

This prime location even attracted United States President William H. Taft, who summered for forty years in a nearby mansion. The twenty-seventh president described Murray Bay as a "state of mind" and said: "The invigorating air of Murray Bay exhilarates like champagne without the effects of the morning after."

Rebuilt after a fire in 1928, the hotel still stands as a testament to those glory days and remains the jewel of Charlevoix. The regal corridors bounded by an impressive staircase are set off by *objets d'art* culled from France, with rare collections of Canadiana. The Norman chateau-style property bursts with fanciful turrets and pointed gables that seem to reach beyond the Laurentians. Today, patrons can linger by the pool or golf at one of Canada's oldest courses. We dined at the hotel's elegant Le Saint Laurent restaurant with views of the St. Lawrence and later strolled outside, hoping to sight whales from our high perch.

Named after a Jesuit priest and Quebec's first historian, Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix, the Charlevoix region encompasses six thousand square kilometres of Canadian Shield along the north coast of the St. Lawrence and is a UNESCO World Biosphere Reserve. Situated at the site of an ancient meteorite impact over 350 million years ago, the crater, about fifty-six-kilometres in diameter, offers treasures from Baie-Saint-Paul, in the west, to La Malbaie, in the east.


A whale surfaces in the waters of the St. Lawrence, near the Charlevoix region of Quebec.

SYLVAIN MAIEAU

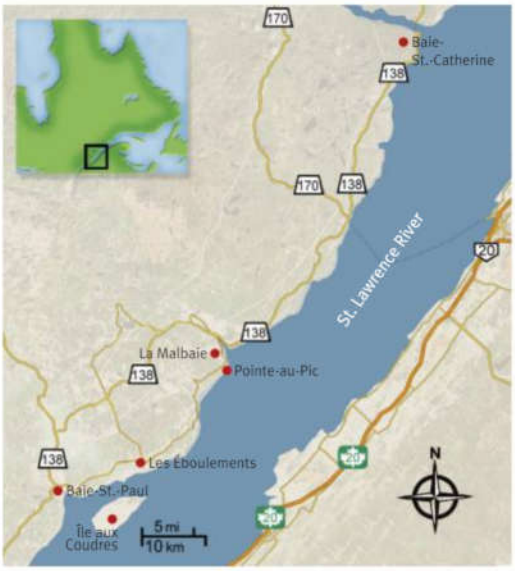
This natural paradise harbours a number of retreats, seven trails, and two scenic routes. Many daytrippers from Quebec City escape into this bucolic countryside, with its postcard-pretty villages set against the rugged beauty of the Laurentians and the St. Lawrence.

We jumped into our car and drove along the jagged coastline of the Shore Road for a visit to Baie St. Paul. For centuries, artists such as members of the Group of Seven made their pilgrimage to the historic town. Dubbed the "artists' paradise," the community features many established studios that are open to the public.

Like the early outdoor enthusiasts, we set our sights on some nature viewing and booked a trip with Croisières AML in Baie-Ste.-Catherine for whale-spotting. With us outfitted and ready, our Zodiac motored into the salty sea. Suddenly, a school-bus-sized humpback fully breached before us. It was awe-inspiring. And at that point we realized Champlain had gotten it wrong all those centuries ago. This land is not *La malle baye*; far from it. It's the land of Eden.

Ilona Kauremszky writes about heritage travel for leading publications across North America, including *The Christian Science Monitor*, *Canadian Geographic* and *The Globe and Mail*.

If you go...



MICHEL ROULEAU

La Malbaie is located on the north coast of the St. Lawrence River, about a two-hour drive northeast of Quebec City. By car, it can be reached from Highway 40E, towards Ste. Anne de Beaupré, which becomes Route 138 East. Drive as far as Baie Saint Paul, then proceed to the Scenic Route 362 East to La Malbaie.

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Les Éboulements
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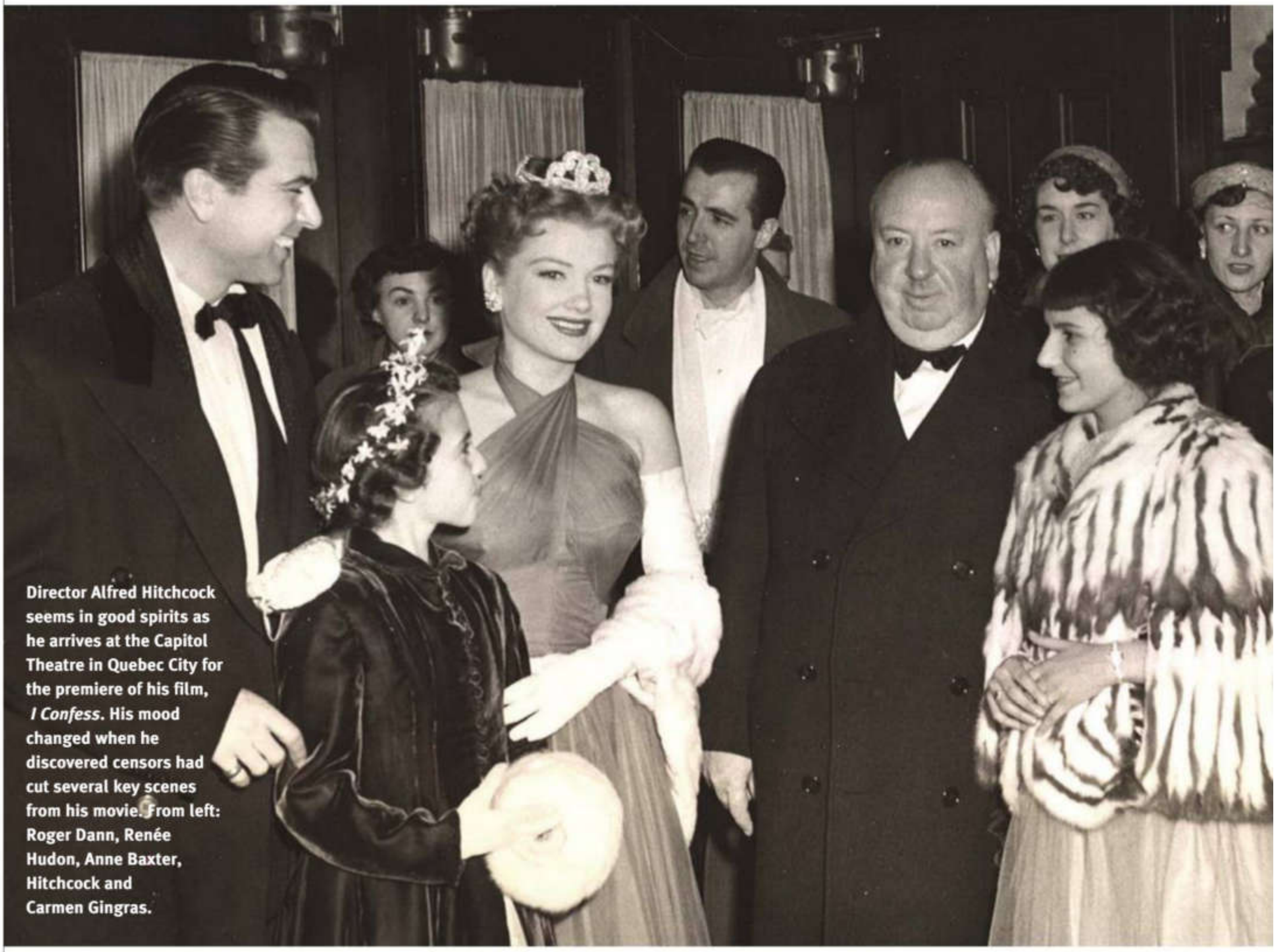
Your Story

Memories of the Master

Renée Hudon fondly recalls meeting Alfred Hitchcock as he filmed a thriller in 1950s Quebec City.



Director Alfred Hitchcock seems in good spirits as he arrives at the Capitol Theatre in Quebec City for the premiere of his film, *I Confess*. His mood changed when he discovered censors had cut several key scenes from his movie. From left: Roger Dann, Renée Hudon, Anne Baxter, Hitchcock and Carmen Gingras.

The beauty and Old France flair of Quebec City has inspired many Canadian and foreign filmmakers to choose the city as a location to shoot their films. However, the city's most famous film shoot remains, without question, Alfred Hitchcock's *I Confess*, which was filmed in Quebec City at the end of the summer of 1952.

Following the success of 1951's *Strangers on a Train*, Hitchcock, still under contract with Warner Bros., was at the height of his American career. Due to his strong religious background — he received a Jesuit education in England — he decided to do a screen adaptation of a little-known play, written in 1902 by French author Paul Anthelme, called *Nos Deux Consciences*, the rights of which had been sold to Warner.

The film would explore some of his favourite themes — the wrongly accused and the transfer of guilt —in an ecclesiastical setting. Sensing that the subject matter would not find a receptive audience in a liberal post-war North America, Hitchcock decided to situate the action in Quebec, a society that, in 1952, was still controlled by the clergy and where the socio-cultural influence of the United States had not yet taken hold. (He also had pleasant memories of the city due to a short stay there in 1939 with his wife, Alma.)

Alfred Hitchcock directs Renée Hudon, far left, before shooting the first scene of *I Confess*.

COLLECTION OF RENÉE HUDON

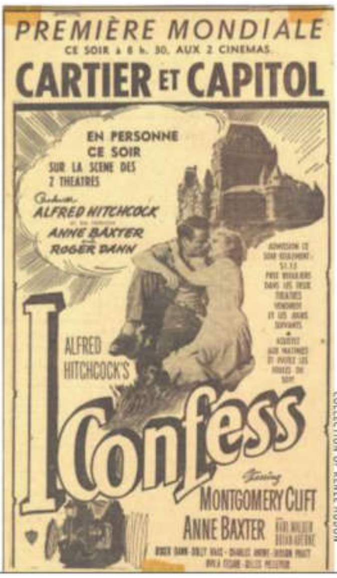
He first arrived in March 1952 to scout locations. The Old City — with its huge bell towers, prominent crucifixes in public and private locations, mysterious narrow streets, and many priests and nuns — provided the right atmosphere for the director. But it was one aspect in particular that persuaded Hitchcock that his choice was the right one — the fact that the local priests commonly wore the cassock, whereas in the United States the clerical collar was already the norm.

I Confess, starring Anne Baxter and Montgomery Clift, began filming on August 20, 1952. The entire city was in a state of excitement, and security tape was used to mark various filming sites. Dozens of extras were invited to participate in certain scenes during the three weeks of outdoor filming. In a bid to make the film as authentic as possible, Hitchcock hired Quebec actors to play some of the secondary roles.

This is where the memory of the master's presence in Quebec City becomes more personal. To interpret the roles of the two little girls who witnessed the murder that drives the plot, Hitchcock wanted to find young girls who did not have any acting training. After advertising in newspapers and on local radio, and after holding several auditions in a suite at the Château Frontenac, he finally faced facts: none of the girls corresponded to his vision of the role. It was also very difficult to find young girls in Quebec City in 1952 that were bilingual. English was an absolute must for the actors because they needed to understand the director, who spoke no French, and the girls would also have to be able to speak English with a French accent! As a last resort, he eventually contacted a school of ballet and dramatic arts, the Conservatoire Francis-Sinval, which I happened to be attending. I spoke English, thanks to my Scottish father and grandmother. Because of this, and also perhaps because of the fact that I had very little experience in theatre, I was given the role of the youngest girl. Carmen Gingras, who was from Montreal and had been given the role of my older sister, was also bilingual.

So, at the age of ten I had a contract from Warner Bros. — or rather, my father did — and a three-week trip to Hollywood to film the indoor scenes.

As for my relationship with Alfred Hitchcock, I have kept a pleasant, sometimes even funny memory; his clown imitations frequently had us in hysterics. In the Warner studio in Hollywood, no doubt to distract me and help me relax, he carried me around on his shoulders and pretended to gallop like a horse. He did not talk to the stars in his film very much; he had not been involved in choosing Anne Baxter, and he looked down on the Actors Studio-method used by Montgomery Clift. It was my impression that he preferred relating to children rather than adults. That was confirmed for me by his daughter Patricia, whom I had met in Hollywood and later had the pleasure of speaking to at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts during the private viewing of the November 2000 exhibit *Hitchcock and Art: Fatal Coincidences*.



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COLLECTION OF RENÉE HUDON

COLLECTION OF RENÉE HUDON

The world premiere of the film took place at the Capitol Theatre in Quebec City on February 13, 1953. When Hitchcock arrived, he was smiling and happy. At the end of the film, which lasted ninety-five minutes, Hitchcock was indignant and angry as he abruptly left the theatre. Despite the fact that the entire screenplay had been studied in minute detail and approved by the Archdiocese of Quebec, the province of Quebec's Bureau of Censorship, which at the time was one of the strictest in the world, had required nine cuts totalling 235 feet of film — namely two minutes and thirty-seven seconds.

The problem scenes that had led to the cuts were the pushing of a priest dressed in a cassock at the end of the trial, the kiss that the priest shared with Anne Baxter, and the courtroom testimony by the young girls, because they were under sixteen, the legal age to testify at that time.

The cuts and resulting link shots at times affected viewers' ability to follow the plot. It was one of the worst affronts of Hitchcock's career. Despite his great satisfaction with the Quebec actors and team, and his appreciation of the remarkable assistance he had received in Quebec City, Hitchcock swore he would never return.

It is impossible for me to forget Hitchcock's brief passage in my life.

By looking upon my city with the gaze of a genius filmmaker and sensitive observer of society, Hitchcock was able not only to reveal the most beautiful sites, buildings, and monuments, but also to capture its soul. The city's outline is slightly different from the one shown by his camera, the bell towers are less apparent, and the priests no longer wear cassocks — but Quebec City will always be unique.

Renée Hudon is president (Chair) of the Salon international du livre de Québec.

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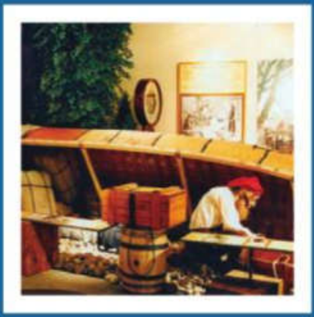

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History Matters

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Founded in 1994 to popularize Canadian history, the work of Canada's National History Society includes:
The Beaver, Kayak,
the **Governor General's Awards for Excellence in Teaching Canadian History** to honour the country's best history teachers, and the **Pierre Berton Award** to recognize those who have brought history to a wider audience.

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The Beaver was founded in 1920 by the Hudson's Bay Company, whose commitment to the History Society and its programs continues today through the ***Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation.***

History's future depends on how we present the past

by Deborah Morrison

OUR PAST SHAPES OUR FUTURE
CANADA'S
CANADA
D'HISTOIRE NATIONALE DU
Carleton
SERGE GOUIN

Governor General Michaëlle Jean speaks at the History Society's National Forum on Canadian History, held last fall in Ottawa.

Over the past several months, considerable attention has been drawn to what Canadians remember about their history and how it is remembered — in our museums, through our educational system, and more broadly throughout our communities.

Readers will recall the flurry of media attention around the Dominion Institute's 2007 Remembrance Day Survey that concluded little progress had been made to improve the sorry state of historical knowledge among Canadians.

Most of the blame went to today's teachers and provincial curricula. The solution, according to Rudyard Griffiths, co-founder of the institute, was for greater federal involvement in the formation of a national history curriculum, and a mandatory history test for every graduating student.

Interestingly enough, a week earlier, Canada's National History Society, in partnership with TD Bank Financial Group and Carleton University, hosted the first-ever National Forum on Canadian History, attended by the Right Honourable Michaëlle Jean, as part of the Governor General's Awards for Excellence in Teaching Canadian History events. The forum brought together over 250 history teachers and public historians from across Canada to hear presentations from three leading academic researchers on history education in this country.

Penney Clark, associate professor with the University of British Columbia Centre for Historical Consciousness, provided an overview of the evolution

JOEL RALPH

Representatives of awards sponsors TD Bank Financial Group and Library and Archives Canada gather with members of the History Society and the 2007 winners of the Governor General's Awards for Excellence in Teaching Canadian History. For details on the awards and the winners, go to historysociety.ca/gga.asp.

of history education in Canada. She underscored some significant curriculum changes toward a more robust history education that have only recently begun to be implemented.

Jocelyn Létourneau, Canada Research Chair at Université Laval, delivered a fascinating presentation on his research of young Quebecers' personal accounts of the story of Quebec and Canada. He concludes that our children acquire a basic national narrative early in their formative years — not from the schooling they receive, but from the influences of family, community, and public commemorations of that history. Therefore, the connection between what children are learning at school and how history is remembered in our society is intrinsically linked to any success in advancing a common national history education.

Ruth Sandwell, assistant professor at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, also issued a challenge to develop a common framework for history curricula in Canada by the year 2011. Her proposed model embraces the need to ensure there is room for local and regional histories to be told.

What struck me about all of this talk of history is that it seems to demonstrate progress, rather than decline, in history education over the past decade. There may still be vast differences of opinion about what content should be taught, but it's a strong step forward to see so many advocate that it is time to develop a cohesive, national strategy. That's something I daresay wasn't even mentionable a decade ago.

I believe this quantum shift is attributable to three factors. First, the passage of time has, perhaps, naturally allowed Canada to gain enough distance from key events to reflect on them as history rather than memory. Consider that the celebration of English and French settlements only dates back 400 years, or that World War I is six years away from its 100th anniversary.

Secondly, the emergence of new technologies permits a less linear approach to the exploration of the past. Growing up with the Internet, DVDs and a variety of multi-media tools, young Canadians in particular routinely see things in layers. They can explore the breadth of multiple histories that comprise the national story of Canada, rather than choose between them.

Thirdly, the emergence of national public organizations — such as the Dominion Institute, Historica, and Canada's National History Society — has contributed to a stronger awareness of Canadian history outside of the classroom. Not only have they brought history into our living rooms through magazines, books, television and new media productions, but they have been quietly working to build and support national networks that encourage histori-

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ans, educators, and officials with local and national public history institutions to work together.

So the real unanswered question is: Why do Canadians still fail miserably on these annual surveys?

According to a recent study prepared by the Historica Foundation of Canada, our history is being taught aplenty in schools, particularly at the elementary and middle school levels. Our own survey of current curricula indicates that every province except Saskatchewan has undertaken a review of their history programs and made substantial improvements in their K-12 programs within the past decade. However, most are still in the early stages of testing or implementation, making it impossible to measure the progress in terms of knowledge retained as a result of those changes.

We also know firsthand through our Governor General's Awards program that educational strategies are becoming more innovative as new curricula are introduced.

For example, elaborate classroom re-enactments of wartime and judicial events are helping students to connect with the historical experience, giving the names and dates richer meaning and context. The primary research students undertake in our local and national archives gives them more than the information they need to complete an assignment — it builds a better understanding about the important role these public institutions play in our society. And the integration of Canadian history into music, arts, drama, and other subjects is providing this next generation with a much more robust understanding of the value of the presence of history in our world today.

But do these new approaches perhaps render the traditional pop quiz ineffective as an evaluation tool? Young Canadians can cram all they want for history exams, but is it reasonable to expect that the information will be any more easily recalled in daily life than the periodic table of elements or the resolution of linear equations? What do we want students to remember when they leave the classroom? And what are our communities doing to ensure they can remember?

With fewer than five percent of our newsstands offering Canadian content magazines, no greater than thirty percent of books purchased in any Canadian school and library being Canadian titles, and fewer than twelve percent of Canadians visiting a historic site in any given year, adult Canadians are becoming increasingly disconnected with their history, heritage, and culture.

Twenty percent of our historic buildings have been lost to demolition over the past thirty years. Our national institutions can barely scrape enough money together to put existing cultural assets on public display, never mind compete with private collectors to acquire new ones. Increasingly, at the slightest hint of controversy in public representation of a past they barely know themselves, our public officials are choosing to dismantle or erase all traces of it, rather than seize on the teachable moment presented to us.

But even here, there are signs of encouragement. Some of the most successful innovations in Canadian public history in recent years have come from our communities — McCord Museum and Pointe-à-Callières Museum in Montreal, Pier 21 in Halifax, Glenbow Museum in Calgary, UBC Centre for Anthropology in Vancouver, and the scheduled Canadian Museum for Human Rights in Winnipeg. And as of November 2007, Canada has two entries on the UNESCO Memory of the World Register of Internationally significant historical documents — the Hudson's Bay Company Archives housed in Winnipeg and the Quebec Seminary Collection 1623–1800.

Many Canadians are looking for ways to bring our national story to life in their communities, often times initiated with little, if any, public financial support. Clearly, more needs to be done to share these efforts of national significance with other Canadians.

We absolutely need to make more investments in history education for all Canadians, but I submit that's not the whole solution. There's just as much work to be done outside our schools, and it cannot wait until this next generation of students reaches the age when they are the leaders and decision-makers. We need to invest in history, with a comprehensive strategy that ensures the lessons learned in school have meaning after the last exam is marked.

There is good work being done across Canada by historians, educators, and public history institutions in their own right, and we make every effort to highlight those efforts with each issue of *The Beaver*. We need more collaboration and coordination to build historical literacy at home and at school so that the lessons of history will resound with generations still to come.

Thank You

On behalf of the History Society, and especially the editorial staff of *The Beaver*, I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to the Department of Canadian Heritage, Citizenship and Heritage Branch, and the Office of the Secretary of State for Multiculturalism and Canadian Identity. This project first began more than three years and two administrations ago. Without the support and commitment of the dedicated federal officials who shared in our vision for this very special issue, it may never have happened. For their encouragement and the generous financial contribution it yielded, we are most grateful to Canadian Heritage and proud to have them as a partner in this project.

Deborah Morrison,
Publisher of *The Beaver*

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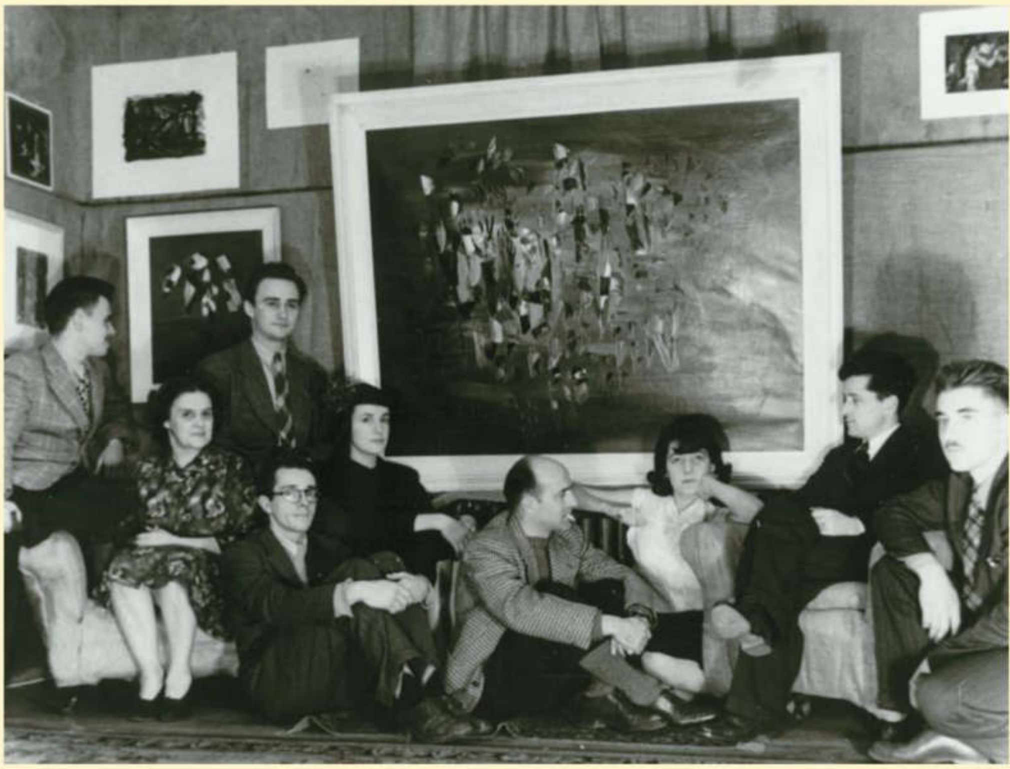
Album

Pauline Barbeau is the sister of Marcel Barbeau, one of the artists featured in this photo.

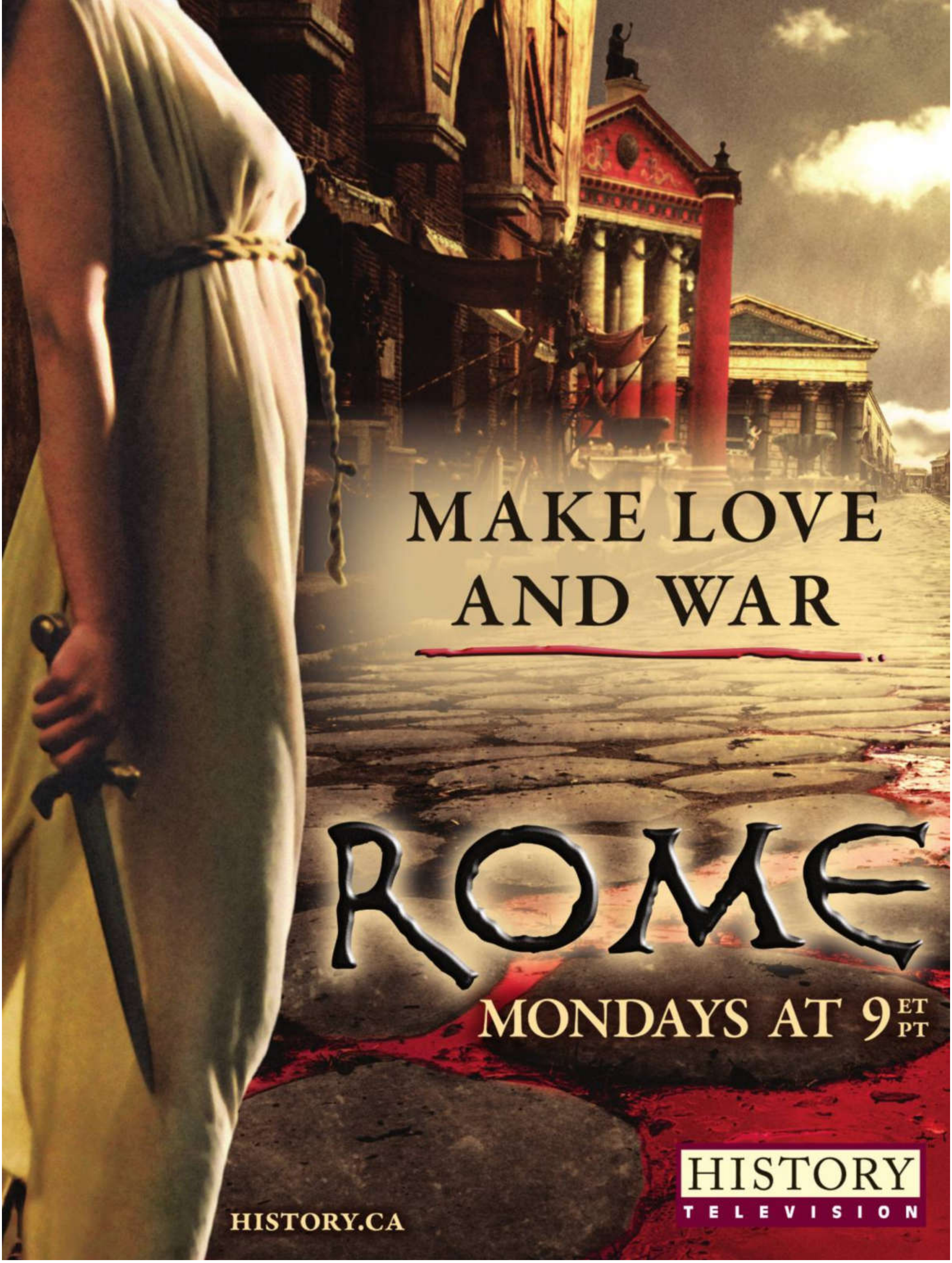


MAURICE PERRON/MNBAQ 99.354

My brother, Marcel

This photo was taken in February 1947 during the second Automatistes exhibition at the Gauvreau family home in Montreal. The Automatistes were a group of Quebec avant-garde artists influenced by surrealism and the theory of automatism. The Automatistes in this photo include: Claude Gauvreau, Mrs. Julienne Gauvreau, Pierre Gauvreau, my brother, Marcel Barbeau (sitting at the front, the one with the glasses), Madeleine Arbour, Paul-Émile Borduas, Madeleine Lalonde, Bruno Cormier and Jean-Paul Mousseau. My brother exhibited ten oil paintings at this exhibition and made his first sale, the Veillomonde painting. Paul-Émile Borduas, my brother's mentor and professor at the École du meuble founded the group. In 1948, Marcel signed the *Refus global*, an anti-establishment, anti-religious manifesto that rejected the norms and values of Quebec society. Marcel was still living with us then and there were many discussions around the dinner table at our house. I didn't understand that in the name of art, one had to destroy everything made by great artists such as Alfred Pellan and many others. The studio was located in the alley behind our house and at any time of the day or night, artists would go through our house to get to the studio. Marcel believed that anyone who did not adhere to the statements in the manifesto was an unenlightened bourgeois! The manifesto shook public opinion at the time and is considered one of the causes of the Quiet Revolution. The Automatistes broke up soon after the manifesto was published. Jean-Paul Riopelle went to Paris, as did Borduas, where he died. Fernand Leduc was already living in Paris. As for Marcel, he then lived in New York, California and Paris. His daughter, Manon, made a film called *Les enfants de Refus global.* Marcel Barbeau is now eighty-two-years-old and lives in Paris. Despite his advancing years, he still paints from 5 a.m. to noon and has not lost his passion.

Do you have an old photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If you would like to submit it for possible publication, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o *The Beaver*, 478–167 Lombard Ave., Winnipeg, MB, R3B 0T6. Or email your submission to album@thebeaver.ca. Include a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. To have your posted submission returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.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